UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
3 1761 01664306 6

OLIVER CROMWELL.

ENGRAVED BY JOS. BROWN, FROM A VERY RARE
ALLEGORICAL PRINT BY FAITHORNE, ENTITLED:
"THE EMBLEM OF ENGLAND'S DISTRACTIONS"
"AS ALSO OF HER ATTAINED & FURTHER"
"EXPECTED FREEDOM & HAPPINESS"

3435m

MEMORIALS

OF

THE CIVIL WAR:

COMPRISING

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF THE FAIRFAX FAMILY
WITH THE MOST DISTINGUISHED PERSONAGES ENGAGED IN THAT
MEMORABLE CONTEST.

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS.

EDITED BY

ROBERT BELL,

AUTHOR OF THE "HISTORY OF RUSSIA," "LIFE OF CANNING," ETC.

FORMING THE CONCLUDING VOLUMES OF

THE FAIRFAX CORRESPONDENCE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

92307
7/10/08

LONDON:
RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET.
Publisher in Ordinary to Her Majesty.

1849.

LONDON:
BRADBURY AND EVANS, PRINTERS, WHITEFRIARS.

DA
407
F2B4
V.2

TABLE OF LETTERS.

1648.

PAGE

Sir Henry de Vic to Sir Richard Browne, 26th January . 6
Foreign news. The Queen thinks of going to Ireland.

Sir Thomas Fairfax to Colonel Hammond, 5th February . 7
Precautions for the safe keeping of the King.

Colonel Hammond to Lord Fairfax, 23rd June 8
Requiring increased military force for the Isle of Wight.

Colonel Overton to Mr. William Clarke, 11th February . 10
Approval of the Parliament's treatment of the King. Lord Mayor's dinner to Lord Fairfax. Scotch mists and Essex agues.

Sir Henry de Vic to Sir Richard Browne, 2nd March . . 13
Business at a stand-still in the Low Countries. Installation of Knights of the Golden Fleece.

Sir Henry de Vic to Sir Richard Browne, 9th March . . 14
Ceremonial of the Installation.

Sir Richard Browne to Sir Edward Nicholas, 9th May . . 19
State of affairs on the Continent. A glimpse of the councils at St. Germain's.

Colonel Horton to the Lord General, 12th May . . . 22
Account of the defeat of the Royalists at St. Fagan's, near Cardiff.

Petition of Colonel Rich's regiment, — May 25
Explanation of their position and demands.

PAGE

G. Mabbott to Lord Fairfax, 17th May 28

Proceedings in Parliament on the Kent disturbances, the militia ordinance, the city riots, and the delinquents.

Endymion Porter to Sir Richard Browne, 30th May . . 30

Dull news from England. Why should the English hearken after what other nations do?

Lord Fairfax to the Earl of Manchester, 4th June . . 32

Account of an engagement with the Royalists at Maidstone.

Colonel Whalley to Lord Fairfax, 10th June . . . 35

Movements in Essex.

Proclamation to Colonel Barnardiston, 21st June . . . 41

Proposals for the surrender of Colchester.

Paper shot into Colchester, 22nd July 44

Containing terms for the surrender of the town, suppressed by the Royalist generals.

Sir Charles Lucas to Lord Fairfax, 19th June 56

Asserting his right to take up arms for the King.

Account of the battle of Preston, 26th August 60

[Written by Sir Marmaduke Langdale.]

Sir Richard Browne to ———, 29th August 67

The Battle of Lens. The barricades of the Fronde.

Sir Richard Browne to ———, 5th September . . . 69

Paris restored to tranquillity.

M. de Garde to Sir Richard Browne, 26th November . . 72

The Delinquents. The King orders Lord Ormond to "desist."

Sir Richard Browne to ———, 28th November 73

The proceedings of the French Parliament. Cardinal Mazarin indisposed.

1649.

PAGE

Thomas Talbot [to, probably, Sir Edward Nicholas], 6th June 88
Irish affairs.

Anonymous, 30th July 90
Campaigning in Ireland.

Thomas White [to, probably, Sir Richard Browne], 2nd August 91
Forces shipped for Ireland. Rumours of disasters.

Thomas White to ———, 16th August 93
Great defeat at Dublin. Jones recompensed with a pension.

Thomas White to ———, 20th August 96
Further news from Dublin.

Thomas White to ———, 27th August 97
Lord Ormond rallies. Scots about Londonderry.

Thomas White to ———, 6th September 100
Life still remaining in the game of Ireland.

Thomas White to ———, 13th September 102
Help expected from Spain. The Covenant to be no hindrance to a composure with the King.

Thomas White to ———, 13th November 104
Winter prospects.

Thomas White to ———, 5th November 106
Landing of Colonel King in Scotland. Irish affairs. Treaty with Spain.

Thomas White to ———, 9th November 108
Cromwell before Duncannon. Death of Horton. Prince Rupert at sea.

Thomas White to ———, 15th November 109
Subscription to the new government. Irish affairs.

Bishop Goodman to the Mayo of Gloucester, 23rd November 111
A piteous appeal.

Alderman Atkin to the Mayor of Norwich, 27th December . 114
Committee of "plundered ministers."

1650.

PAGE

Alderman Atkin to the Mayor of Norwich, 10th January . 115

Cromwell ordered over from Ireland. The City petition. The Act for subscribing to the engagement.

Alderman Atkin to the Mayor of Norwich, 30th May . . 116

Bad news from Scotland. Cromwell landed from Ireland.

Thomas White to Sir Richard Browne, 27th January . . 117

Political gossip. Preparations in Scotland.

———— to Sir Richard Browne, 13th January . 119

State of parties. Loss of several towns.

Robert Long to Sir Richard Browne, 9th March . 120

Peace in Ireland.

1651.

E. Ward and R. Borge to Mr. W. Leachman, 23rd February 122

Plot of a new rising.

Sir Charles Coote to the Lord President, 11th March . . 123

The war in Scotland.

John ap Griffith to Sir Richard Browne, 27th September . 125

Rumours as thick as hail. "Our royal master" safely landed at St. Malo.

Jo. Williams to Sir Richard Browne, 8th October . . 127

The King supposed to be in Scotland. Gossip.

Anonymous intelligence 130

State of affairs about the date of the Battle of Worcester.

Chr. Gardiner and R. Thomas to ———, 13th December . 138

An offer of seisin to the King.

1658.

PAGE

Sir William Morice to ——, 13th April 140

Doctrinal questions between the Puritans and the Papists.

John Nicholas [to, probably, Sir Richard Browne], 20th July . 145

Bruges troubled by the French.

1659.

Fragment of an anonymous letter 146

Announcing the prospect of the Restoration.

General Fleetwood to Vice Admiral Lawson, 21st December . 148

The Council of Officers. Demands of the army for a new Parliament.

1660.

John Scudamore to Mr. Evelyn, 17th May 149

Announcing the approaching return of Charles II.

Iter Boreale 151

Brian Fairfax's narrative of his journey into Scotland to open a communication between Lord Fairfax and General Monk.

Henry Watson to Lieutenant Colonel Man 185

Vacant seats in Parliament to be filled up. Hindrance of "secluded members."

General Monk to Lord Fairfax 208

Pretended coercion of Parliament by the Army.

Mr. J. Foley to Mr. Samuel Lodiman 210

Private business. Political news.

1663.

PAGE

Lord Fairfax to the Duke of Buckingham, 14th October . 221
Plots and machinations against the monarchy.

1670.

Lord Fairfax to [supposed to be Lady Clinton], 6th August . 223
Inquiries about his daughter, the Duchess of Buckingham.

MISCELLANEOUS LETTERS.

Lady Vavasour to Mr. Henry Vavasour, 3rd March, 1644 . 229
Remonstrating with him for having embraced the Roman Catholic religion.

Henry, Lord Fairfax, to the Lady Fairfax, 19th May, 1677 . 231
Announcing his arrival in London.

Henry, Lord Fairfax, to the Lady Fairfax, 19th June, 1677 . 232
Is joined in town by Cousin Rokeby. Duke of Buckingham still in custody.

Henry, Lord Fairfax, to the Lady Fairfax, 26th June, 1677 . 232
Weary of London, and anxious to get back into the country.

Henry, Lord Fairfax, to the Lady Fairfax, 15th March, 1678 233
Election of Speaker. Duke of York gone beyond seas.

Lord Burlington to the Lord Fairfax, 29th June, 1683 . . 234
The Rye-house Plot. Precautions for seizing suspected persons.

Brian Fairfax to Henry, Lord Fairfax, 18th March, 1684 . 235
Sick of attendance upon the King. Court life.

Brian Fairfax to Henry, Lord Fairfax, 5th September, 1712 . 236
Horses and family estate.

PAGE

Brian Fairfax to his Son, Charles Fairfax, 7th Sept., 1704 . 238

Queen's procession to St. Paul's.

Brian Fairfax to his Son, Charles Fairfax, 21st October, 1706 240

Death and character of the Duchess of Buckingham.

R. Clayton to Lady Fairfax, 23rd February, 1710 . . 241

Sale of the Fairfax estates. Curious particulars concerning the death of the fifth Lord Fairfax.

Lady Fairfax to her Son, Lord Fairfax, 15th December, 1711 243

Inquiries and advice.

Robert Fairfax to Thomas, Lord Fairfax, 16th October, 1712 245

Good wishes to his lordship, whose health he drinks. Commends Mr. Topham to a benefice.

Thomas Fairfax to ———, 18th September, 1792 . . 247

A letter of business. Removing to a new house.

The Duke of Buckingham to the King 249

Setting forth his services, and praying to be restored to favour.

A Paper under the Duke of Buckingham's own hand, concerning my Lord Fairfax 253

Stating that if Cromwell had lived three days longer he, the Duke, would have been put to death.

The case between the Duke and Duchess of Buckingham and Henry, Lord Fairfax, 31st May, 1686 254

Opinion of Counsel on the entail.

The Duchess of Buckingham to the Lord Fairfax, 2nd September, 1700 256

Requesting that certain deeds in his lordship's possession may be shown to counsel.

Brian Fairfax to the Lord Fairfax, 29th October [1700] . 257

Advising him to take counsel's opinion about the deeds.

Brian Fairfax to the Lord Fairfax, 31st October, 1700 . . 258

Disputing the Duchess of Buckingham's right to sell the estates.

Brian Fairfax to the Lord Fairfax, 2nd November, 1700 . 260

Urging him to do nothing but by the advice of counsel, and suggesting a letter to the Duchess.

Brian Fairfax to the Lord Fairfax, 12th November, 1700 . 263

Advising him to show all respect to the Duchess, but no writings.

PAGE

Copy of letter to be written to the Duchess 264

Very willing to oblige her Grace, but determined to assert his title.

Entry of the Fifth Lord Fairfax, 11th November, 1700 . 265

Claiming several manors after the death of the Duchess of Buckingham.

Duchess of Buckingham to the Lord Fairfax, 31st Dec., 1700 265

Asserting her full claim to the estates, and asking justice.

Walter Sotheby to the Lord Fairfax, 10th December, 1700 267

Enclosing a letter from her Grace's solicitor.

J. Gibson to Brian Fairfax, 27th February, 1707 . . 268

Containing an account of the last moments of the Duke of Buckingham.

Deposition of Ellen Stroude concerning the marriage of the Duke of York with Anne Hyde 270

That she was present at the marriage, in England.

Deposition of Dr. Crowther concerning the marriage of the Duke of York with Anne Hyde . . . 271

That he married them according to the form of the Church of England.

Deposition of the Earl of Ossory concerning the marriage of the Duke of York with Anne Hyde . . . 272

That he presented Anne Hyde in marriage to his Highness.

Declaration of Anne Hyde respecting her marriage with the Duke of York 272

Attesting the fact.

Declaration of James, Duke of York, respecting his marriage with Anne Hyde 273

To the same effect.

Anne Hyde to the Lady Cornbury, 14th August . . . 274

In a great hurry—very affectionate.

Anne Hyde to the Lady Cornbury, 30th August . . . 275

Cannot get time to answer letters promptly—but full of affection for her correspondent.

Anne Hyde to the Lady Henrietta Hyde, 2nd September . 276

Gossip and love.

PAGE

Anne Hyde to the Lady Henrietta Hyde, 12th September . 277

A hurried note, rather than not write at all.

The Princess Mary to the Lady Henrietta Hyde, 18th Feb. 277

Begging her to write sometimes.

Extracts from the Memorandum Book belonging to Anne Hyde 278

Personal items—Jottings of idle moments.

The Duchess of York's motives for embracing the Roman Catholic Faith, 20th August, 1670 . . . 280

History and grounds of her conversion.

John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, to the Earl of Arundel, 2nd October, 1640 284

Detailing his case, and praying to be removed from the Tower.

Curious Story related by Bishop Tillotson, 18th July, 1691 . 287

About a mad-woman in Bedlam.

Mr. Coleman to Father La Chaise [1678] 288

Progress of conversions in England—A plan of secret writing.

From the Council at Whitehall to Earl Danby, 30th Sep., 1678 291

Orders for searching the houses of Papists.

Officers appointed for the Popish Government by the Jesuitical party, 30th September, 1678 292

List of names Mr. Beddow hath discovered concerned in the late Popish conspiracy, 7th November, 1678 . . . 293

Lord Danby to the Lord Fairfax, 3rd October, 1678 . . 294

Order for seizing arms.

Lord Danby to the Lord Fairfax and the Deputy-Lieutenants of the West Riding, 19th October, 1678 . . . 295

Instructions for arrests.

William Palmer to the Lord Fairfax, 28th October, 1678 . 296

News about "the Popish Plot," and the murder of Godfrey.

J. Babington to the Lord Fairfax, 20th November, 1678 . 297

Details of proceedings against Coleman and others.

P. Sherrard to the Lord Fairfax, 26th November, 1678 . 299

Hangings, trials, and imprisonments.

Deposition of Francis Caryll concerning his imprisonment . 300

Falsely accused of the murder of Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey.

PAGE

Relation touching the calumnies of Lord Hatton against Sir Richard Browne 305

Detailing the statements at both sides, with extracts of letters from Mr. Secretary Nicholas.

Thomas Tickell to ———, 11th June, 1717 309

Private official intelligence.

Henry, Earl of Clarendon, to William Lowndes, 14th May, 1709 310

Asking his intercession for an interview with the Lord Treasurer.

Titus Oates to the Duke of Bolton, 8th September, 1694 . 311

Confidential scraps of political news.

John Cosins to Mr. Evelyn, 18th December, 1651 . . 313

Explaining and defending his conversion to the Roman Catholic religion.

Dean Cosins to Mr. Evelyn, 3rd April, 1652 . . . 319

Sale of a library. Indignant at his son's conversion.

Thomas Barlow, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, to Mr. Evelyn, 17th March, 1654 320

Acknowledging benefactions to the Bodleian Library.

Sir Richard Browne to Mr. Evelyn, 29th September, 1659 . 321

Hunting out books and gossip for him in Paris.

Lord Cornbury to Mr. Evelyn, September, 1665 . . . 323

News of the King's health, of the Parliament, and friends in the North.

Lord Cornbury to Mr. Evelyn, 17th January, 1666 . . 325

Fears of the Plague. Progress of planting at Cornbury.

Lord Cornbury to Mr. Evelyn, 24th January, 1666 . . 327

Court movements. A printer's piracy.

Sir R. Moray to Mr. Evelyn, 14th January, 1667 . . 329

A playful letter of compliment.

N. Jameson to Mr. Evelyn, 11th April, 1670 . . . 331

Asking for some white mulberry seed.

Mr. Evelyn to Mr. Jameson, 12th May, 1670 . . . 333

Telling him where the seed is to be got.

The Countess of Clarendon to Mr. Evelyn, 22nd October, 1680 333

Garden matters.

Mr. Robert Berkeley to Mr. Evelyn, 21st March, 1684 . 334

Condolence on his daughter's death.

PAGE

Mr. Robert Berkeley to Mr. Evelyn 336

Complimenting him on his place at Court. Flowers and plants.

Henry, Earl of Clarendon, to Mr. Evelyn, 2nd September, 1685 338

Condolence on his daughter's death.

Henry, Earl of Clarendon, to Mr. Evelyn, 3rd September, 1690 339

Inviting him to Cornbury.

Henry, Earl of Clarendon, to Mr. Evelyn, 11th October, 1690 340

Regrets that he cannot come.

Mr. Benede to Mr. Evelyn, 25th October, 1690 . . . 341

Offers to send a litter, or a sedan chair in a boat, for a young invalid. News abroad and at home.

Dr. Tenison to Mr. Evelyn, 4th November, 1693 . . 343

Colds in London. Universal discontent.

Dr. Williams to Mr. Evelyn, 1696 344

Authorship of the Life of Boyle.

Mr. James Quin to Mr. Evelyn, 29th November . . . 346

Desires to enter into a correspondence with Mr. and Mrs. Evelyn.

Henry, Earl of Clarendon, to Mr. Evelyn, 19th April, 1698 . 347

Acknowledgment of obligations.

W. Nicholson (afterwards Bishop of Carlisle) to Mr. Evelyn, 25th March, 1700 348

Literary subjects. Mr. Pepys indisposed.

Mr. Evelyn to —— [W. Nicholson] 350

Prevented from writing by Mr. Pepys' illness.

Dr. John Fell to Wm. G——l, 1st December . . . 352

Urging him to forgive a lady who had broken her promise of marriage to him.

William G——l to Dr. Fell 354

Requiring an apology from the lady, or he will not stay proceedings.

William Penn to the Lord Fairfax 357

Complaints of neglect in a matter of business.

Narrative of Mr. Harrison 359

Impeachment of Malignants 367

1648.

STATE OF AFFAIRS AT THE OPENING OF THE YEAR.
HIS MAJESTY ATTEMPTS HIS ESCAPE.
RENEWAL OF THE CIVIL WAR.
CHARACTER OF SIR CHARLES LUCAS.
SURRENDER OF COLCHESTER.
EXECUTION OF SIR CHARLES LUCAS AND SIR GEORGE LISLE.
BATTLE OF PRESTON.
THE PERSON OF THE KING SEIZED BY THE ARMY.
THE KING ATTAINTED OF HIGH TREASON.

1648.

Great changes have taken place at the opening of the year, all tending to that consummation which, whatever may happen, cannot now be long delayed. The Earl of Essex is dead—Sir Philip Stapleton is dead—Glynn, the Recorder, is in the Tower: the rest of the Eleven Incendiaries are either dead, or out of the way "disabled," and ordered to be impeached. The Parliamentary Committee of Safety is re-empowered, and the Earl of Kent, Sir John Evelyn, and Mr. Fiennes, are placed upon it to fill up vacancies. The rejection of the Four Bills by his Majesty, who demanded a personal treaty in lieu of them, has coerced the Commons into a resolution which shuts the door for ever upon further negociation. The Scotch, after pocketing their money, instead of keeping faith with Parliament, have helped to get both parties into this perplexity by supporting the King in his royal obstinacy. On the 3rd January, the House of Commons passes a vote that no more addresses shall be made from the Parliament to the King, nor letters or messages received from him; and that it shall be high treason for any person to deliver any letter or message to the King, or to receive any from him, without leave from both Houses. The Parliament without more parley or waste of time has taken the affairs of the kingdom into its own hands; and the army, in a public declaration, founded on the King's rejection of the Four Bills, has sent in its adherence to the Parliament. "We do freely declare," are the words of Sir Thomas Fairfax, "for ourselves and the army, that we are resolved, through the grace of God, firmly to adhere with and stand by the Parliament in the things voted concerning the King, and what shall be further necessary for prosecution thereof, and for the settling and securing of the Parliament and kingdom *without the King* and *against him*, or any other that shall hereafter partake with him." This is conclusive. The King's name is no longer a tower of strength, save such strength as may be found in the towers of Carisbrook.

While Captain Burley, the ring-leader of the Newport riot, lies roaring in his dungeon,* the King is settling into a deep melancholy in the State apartments. Long conversations are held daily between him and Hammond. He reproaches Hammond for breach of integrity in dismissing his attendants, and Hammond says that he has only done his duty. The King tells him that he shall one day be indebted to one of his sons for his life, and Hammond replies that he is ready to answer for what he has done with his head. At last, finding he can make no impression on Hammond (who under the orders of Parliament, has sent away his own uncle, the private chaplain), his Majesty becomes more contented, exercises in the grounds and on the ramparts, asks questions about what is doing in London, Windsor, Ireland, Scotland, and grows very merry at dinner.

---

* He was afterwards executed.

It is shrewdly suspected that there is a plot hatching under this smiling face of mischief. Mysterious news reaches Carisbrook of a design to invade the island, Van Trump, with Dutch ships, joined by some Dunkirkers and Irish, being at the bottom of it; but wary Hammond keeps a vigilant look-out, landward and seaward. In confirmation of this news, a ship full of Irish rebels is seized on the south-west coast of Ireland, and Hammond lays by the heels one Major Bosville who had come in disguise under the roguish name of John Fox with letters which he endeavoured to convey privately to the King. One of them is from the Queen, and another from the young Princess; they are all intercepted, and handed over to the Derby House Committee. The following letter sheds a broken ray of light upon this business. The Queen and Prince Charles are at this time at St. Germains, and her Majesty has some thoughts of throwing herself into Ireland. The writer is Sir Harry de Vic or de Vics, who in the early part of this reign had been secretary to the French mission and agent to the king of Denmark. He also served at Rochelle with the Duke of Buckingham, and will be heard of in Hardwicke's Collection. He lived at Brussels, and was a staunch adherent of the Stuarts, keeping open house for them as they passed through;

a great friend, too, of Clarendon's, receiving his letters under cover during his exile. This is the same Sir Harry de Vic whose courtship of a lady in Cologne, some five or six years later, is pleasantly alluded to by the handsome Queen of Bohemia in her letters to Secretary Nicholas.

MONSIEUR DE VIC TO SIR R. BROWNE.

SIR,

I WONDER very much at what you write in your last, of my sending of letters unto you to be conveyed to my wife under a bare cover, and without any to yourself, which I am certain is the first time I have been guilty of such a piece of uncivility, and must have proceeded from some mistake in the making up of my letters; for I wrote one unto you at that time, and I remember it by this token, that by reason I was newly returned from my little journey into Flanders, and yet very weary of the same, I prayed you to excuse me if for that time I did not write any news unto you. The Duke of ——'s journey into Germany grows every day more uncertain, and the rather for that the Archduke's coming hither, on which it depends, is not yet so fully resolved as not to admit of doubts and divers difficulties, which perhaps may stumble it. We have had here a great alarm of what the Marshal Rausan hath lately done betwixt Newport and Dixmuyde, which having proved but the cutting of a dike, that fear is now over. Monsieur le Brun, one of the King of Spain's plenipotentiaries at Munster, and the most acute able man amongst them, hath been here these eight or ten days, and is now returning, as it is thought, by the way of Holland, to hinder the further effects of Monsieur de Serment's great endeavours to invalidate the treaty between the King of Spain and the Hollanders.* Some letters, come with the last post from Paris, speak of an intention in the Queen to go for Ireland. I pray you let me know what you know or think of that design, and so in great haste, I kiss your hands for your last, and remain,

Your most affectionate humble servant,

De Vic.

Bruxelles, 26th January, 1647. [*N. S.* 1648.]

Your wonted favour I beg for the conveyance of the adjoined.†

Resolutions having been adopted in Parliament for regulating the attendance upon his Majesty's person, Sir Thomas Fairfax is entrusted with the task of seeing that they are carried out.

TO COLONEL ROBERT HAMMOND, GOVERNOR OF THE ISLE OF WIGHT.

Sir,

You see by these enclosed votes how great a burthen the Parliament hath laid upon me. I do hereby send to you that you would instantly send me a list of such as are at present about the King, who are persons fit to be confided in. If you have any in the island worthy of that trust, I would desire you to send their names also in the same list; and, if you cannot fill up the number of thirty with you, which I should be glad you could, then I desire you to send me the quality of those that will be wanting, that so they may be supplied from hence. It will be necessary that you hasten this business, seeing the Parliament expects a speedy and effectual observance of their command herein. I purpose, so soon as I have received your list, to make the number up, and lay it before the Parliament to receive their approbation and allowance for my indemnity. You see by the votes that the number of thirty, of all sorts, gentlemen, their servants, cooks, butlers, &c., may not be exceeded, and therefore it will be fit that a respect be had to all occasions and necessities of the household.

---

* The treaty which M. de Serment desired to invalidate, was signed at the Hague, without the concurrence of France, a few nights after this letter was written.

† From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

Wishing you all success in your great trust and charge, I rest

Your assured friend,

T. Fairfax.

Queen Street, Feb. 5th, 1647. [*N. S.* 1648.]

A few months later we find a communication from Hammond, urging the necessity of increasing the military strength of the island. This throws us a little in advance of the personal proceedings of the General, to whom we shall presently return.

TO THE GENERAL LORD FAIRFAX.

My Lord,

Your Excellency's great employments have been lately such that I have not troubled you with the affairs of this place; but the concernment of them at this time is so considerable to the kingdom, that causeth me amongst other your great affairs, to acquaint you with the danger this island is in by reason of the late distemper of the navy, by the revolt of it; whose design, as I am informed, and is very likely, is to bring over soldiers to invade this island, which, if they should do, I being not able to prevent or interrupt their landing, the islanders will be forced to join with them for their own preservation, which would impede the landing of any force for the relief of this castle for the future. My desire therefore is, that if the Parliament see fit to continue the person of the King in this place, a very considerable strength of horse and foot—300 horse, 1500 foot at the least, may be speedily sent over hither, to keep an enemy from landing. Horse would be of excellent use here, because no Horse can be brought to oppose them. I have written to the committee of Derby House about this, and also that if they think it fit to send such a force, they be sure to provide a certain way for their pay, otherwise the country will immediately be eaten up. I hear nothing from the officers of the second company I have formerly written for, though from London I have been informed that they have been long on their march hither. I hope they are the companies I formerly named to your Excellency—Captain Humphreys's and Captain Wheeler's. It is of special concernment to have sure men in the employment. They must be used in it; for if they be otherwise, it will be too much in their power to undo me and the kingdom also, as I was in danger of to have found by late experience. My lord, I thought it my duty to let your Excellency know our condition at present, it being of that general concernment, and do desire all furtherance from you which I cannot but expect,—as besides the public concernment of it, I have upon all occasions ever had so great testimony of your favour. My lord, that the direction and presence of God may carry you through all your great affairs, is the hearty prayer of, my lord,

Your Excellency's most faithful humble servant,

Robert Hammond.

Carisbrooke Castle, June 23rd, 1648.

In February, Colonel Overton, Governor of Hull, writes to Fairfax's secretary in a strain that touches the pulse of the times quaintly enough. His style is odd, and occasionally a little cumbrous and grandiloquent, but the strong heart of the man is in every line. He thinks that if the King were "infiefed" in an eternal kingdom, it would be a happy thing for the three transitory kingdoms he rules over so blindly—a strange foreshadowing of the coming event. The allusion to the City refers to a grand dinner given to the General by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen. Public affairs and public dinners were despatched much in the same way then as they are now. Fairfax himself had just given a dinner to his officers at Windsor upon their dispersion to their several posts.

FOR MY MUCH HONOURED FRIEND, MR. WILLIAM CLARKE, SECRETARY TO HIS EXCELLENCY SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX, AT THE HEAD-QUARTERS IN LONDON, THESE.

SIR,

I MUST acknowledge your pen pourtrays my best intelligence of the weekly occurrants, and provides the best spectacles that I can encounter in these parts. I shall be glad to continue your friendly correspondence though I cannot do it in an equal return; we are here dark-sighted and enlightened only by the spectacles we receive from the South. I, for my part, am well pleased with the Parliament's impartial proceedings touching the removal of our sovereign's servants; the declension of his state will in time pull down his spirit, which, perhaps, is too much exalted on earth to ascend to heaven; it would prove a happy privation if the Father would please to dispossess him of three transitory kingdoms to infeoff him in an eternal one.

I am glad of his Excellency's particular respects from the city magistrate the Lord Mayor; but I hope he will not encounter their common courtesy, lest it prove a cruel kindness or a Roman festival. For the city designs, I cannot account them considerable; they having nothing left to hedge in the cuckoo, or to head their headless multitudes. The militia, Tower, and army, is all our own, and nothing theirs, except their wealth and voices, and that not unquestionable; for the present tumults they are as yet not timed, but like lightning before the thunderclap of rage and ruin.

When the 200,000*l.* Scots is paid, I should desire once more to try whether his pulse beat peace or no. I doubt the Scotch mist expelled will turn to an Essex ague, and fall into such hot and cold fits as the land of cakes cannot cure without an English antidote, or a present mouth to kiss the King's hand. No doubt they are not uninterested in all foreign confederacies, yet bounded by Him who spans the heavens, bounds the sea's proud waves, and rides upon the wings of the wind.

Sir, I am also in post-haste; you will, therefore, I hope, pardon all obliquities and accept all necessary returns. My engagements grow upon me, and yet I am constrained to encroach upon you for the continuation of your friendly favours in the mindfulness of our establishment of pay, garrison officers, and incident charges.

Sir, I here inclose a list of officers, which, if his Excellency approve of, I desire commissions may be sent down; if exceptions be taken to any, I desire some better may be introduced in their stead. I have no private ends or aims in the preferment of any that are not public proof. In my opinion, however, his Excellency's positive commands shall be my *sententia finalis,* though I know his courtesy in letters is sometimes afforded to some who fall under such just exceptions, as if foreknown, he would not willingly have so far comported with. Sir, I pray you excuse my not writing to Mr. Rushworth; tell him I have forborne to insert Lieutenant Banks into the enclosed list; in regard I hear him so much taxed for intemperance—a crime not to be comported with, nor connived at in any civil society. I have wearied myself with writing, and perhaps you with reading; I shall therefore rest

Your ready and real servant,

R. OVERTON.

Hull, Feb. 11*th,* 1647. [*N. S.* 1648.]

In the midst of all the grave political business that troubled the Houses at this period, social and moral questions were not overlooked. On the 9th of February the famous ordinance was issued for the suppression of stage-plays. By this ordinance, stage-players were denounced as common rogues, committed and fined for the first offence, and whipped as incorrigible for the second; magistrates were authorised to pull down all stage-galleries, seats, and boxes; and every person who was present as a spectator of plays or interludes was to be fined five shillings to be given to the poor. It must be said on behalf of this ordinance that it was not adopted from fear of any influence which might be worked through the stage upon public opinion, in reference to matters pending between the King and the

Parliament, but from a strong sense of "the vices and disorders," and the "high provocation of God's wrath and displeasure," which were believed to flow from theatrical representations.

We learn from the following letters, dated in the beginning of March, that scanty news had reached the Low Countries respecting English affairs, owing to the prevalence of easterly winds; and that the King's career was beginning to be looked upon there as hopeless. In Bruxelles they were deep in the carnival, installing Knights of the Golden Fleece, and apparently thinking very little about the imprisoned King and the fugitive Royal Family.

MONS. DE VIC TO SIR R. BROWNE.

SIR,

I HAVE received yours by the last orders, for which I render you many thanks, and for those that you sent me with them from my wife under Mr. Nicols, his cover, to whom I do pray you the adjoined may be delivered.

All businesses here are almost at a stand upon the news they have both from Germany and from Spain, that the Archduke Leopold is to come hither to govern these broken and shattered provinces, which would make the present chief ministers in them less careful of those preparations which the season of the year calls upon them for.

The Duke of Lorraine is not yet gone though the greatest part of his forces; namely, those which were between the Sambre and Meuse, are advanced, and have taken their quarters in the parts about the Moselle.

Madame de Meureuse is going to live at her new purchase of Carpen within three or four leagues of Cullen, where she hath already sent her household stuff.

The Marquis of Castel Rodrigo hath lately declared himself Captain-General of the Armies here, a quality he hath long had in his power to take, but never assumed it till now, though he did appear something like such a one at the latter end of the last campaign.

Four persons of the chiefest of this country are to-morrow to be installed knights of the order of the Golden Fleece, namely, the Prince of Ligny, the Duke d' Hamé, the Prince of S——, and the Count of Evreux. Pray do me the favour to impart unto me the news you receive from England, in respect you have them better served than we; and particularly for that it happens many times when the wind sets easterly, as it hath done of late, that we have none at all, which is a great discomfort unto us, not for any great good news we expect from thence for the King our master, but that we are held in uncertainties merely of what they are.

I am ashamed to trouble you so much and so often with the conveyance of letters, but the necessity of it forces me unto it, and because I am

Your ancient humble servant,

De Vic.*

Bruxelles, March 2nd, 1647. [*N. S.* 1648.]

MONSIEUR DE VIC TO SIR R. BROWNE.

Sir,

This last week hath been wholly taken up and shared between the usual recreations and merriments, and the succeeding devotions of the time. Whatsoever the last have been, I am not so great a frequenter of the churches here as to give you an account of them, neither do I think you expect it from me; and of the latter, though I might instance on many, I shall forbear to mention any of them, not so much as what passed, or rather might have passed, at the ball which the Countess of Nassau kept, if the Countess of Hostrade, daughter to the Prince of Barlancon, had not been discounselled from using the freedom denied unto none, of making part of such meetings; I shall only tell you in general that whatsoever they are at other times, for which let them answer for themselves, they have been more than usually mad all this carnival. Upon Sunday last the Count of Bossu, the Prince of ——, the Prince of Ligny, and the Count of Evreux, were installed Knights of the Golden Fleece, in the order I do set them down; the first because his patent was issued for it almost a whole year before the rest; and as for the other three, whose patents were dated all of one day, the chance of the dice determined the difference between them for precedency, to which, notwithstanding that they did submit, the Prince of —— made a protest, and had it openly read in the church, against all prejudice that might accrue thereby unto him in the rank which his birth doth otherwise give him. The Duke of Hamé had also that dignity offered unto him, with the patent for it, but would not submit to the chance of the dice in point of precedency, and so retired without accepting the same. Many other differences there have been on this occasion, which to relate, with their several reasons and circumstances, would require a herald at arms. After the ceremony ended, which lasted till 3 or 4 o'clock in the afternoon, the old and new knights were treated at the house of the youngest of them, the Duke of ——. The late courier from Spain, who arrived here upon Monday night, was very welcome both for that he brought the ratification of the treaty of peace with the States of Holland, which was sent immediately forward towards Munster, and, with all that, by him came the so long expected Bills of Exchange which they so much wanted for the necessary preparations of the approaching campaign, against which it is not so very certain whether the Archduke Leopold will be able to come hither. And so recommending the adjoined to your wonted courtesy, with due thanks for yours of the 2nd of this month, I remain,

---

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

Sir, your most affectionate humble servant,

De Vic.*

Bruxelles, this 9th March, 1647. [*N. S.* 1648.]

About this time died Ferdinando, Lord Fairfax, bequeathing Denton and all its "household stuff" to Sir Thomas, who will henceforth be designated by his hereditary title.

All prospect of a settlement being at an end, his Majesty attempted to make his escape. This was a memorable incident in the Carisbrook register, not set down in the Parliament books. "Intelligence," says Cromwell, in a letter to Hammond, dated 9th April, "came to the hands of a very considerable person, that the King attempted to get out of his window; and that he had a cord of silk with him whereby to slip down, but his breast was so big the bar would not give him passage. This was done in one of the dark nights about a fortnight ago. A gentleman with you led him the way, and slipped down. The guard, that night, had some quantity of wine with them. The same party assures that there is aquafortis gone down from London, to remove that obstacle which hindered; and that the same design is to be put in execution in the next dark nights." Lilly, the astrologer, according to his own account, had a principal hand in this attempt. "His Majesty," says Lilly, "laid his design to escape out of prison, by sawing the iron bars of his chamber window; a small ship was provided, and anchored not far from the castle to bring him into Sussex; horses were provided to carry him through Sussex into Kent, so that he might be at the head of the army in Kent [at that moment in a state of disorder], and from thence to march immediately to London, where thousands then would have armed for him. The Lady Wherewood came to me, acquaints me therewith. I got G. Farmer (who was a most ingenious locksmith, and dwelt in Bow Lane) to make a saw to cut the iron bars in sunder, I mean to saw them, and aquafortis besides. His Majesty in a small time did his work: the bars gave liberty for him go out; he was out with his body till he came to his breast; but then his heart failing, he proceeded no farther; when this was discovered, as soon after it was, he was narrowly looked after, and no opportunity after that could be devised to enlarge him."* Lilly's version of the story differs from Cromwell's. The truth, perhaps, is midway between them. Lilly says that when the King got his head out his heart failed; Cromwell says that he was stopped by the bigness of his breast. A Vandyck portrait, from which the engravings are made, represents the King to have been so macilent that wherever his head could get through, there could have been no great difficulty in persuading his breast to follow. Such appears to have been his Majesty's own opinion before he made the attempt; for, says a local historian, he was confident he could get through the window, having tried with his head, and judging where the head could pass the body could pass also.* But these escapes, head foremost, with a long fall, are hazardous experiments, and require great presence of mind; so that the likelihood is, with Vandyck's thin portrait before us, that his Majesty was stopped, quite as much by failure of heart as exuberance of chest. It was his last chance; for, from this time forth, plots were kept out by bars that were proof against saws and aquafortis, locksmiths and astrologers.

---

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

---

* Lilly's History of his Life and Times, 1715.

The following epistle alludes directly to the state of affairs at St. Germains. A project was entertained of sending Prince Charles into Scotland; but the Scotch coquetted, and were afraid to have him. Then there was a plan for sending Lord Hopton into Wales, and the Marquis of Ormond into Ireland, which looked more feasible; for the Welsh were refractory, and Ireland was convulsed from Cape Clear to the Giant's Causeway, by the recent astounding defection of Lord Inchiquin, who had revolted from the Parliament.

---

* Horsley's History of the Isle of Wight.

SIR RICHARD BROWNE TO SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

SIR,

THE Prince of Condé and Monsieur de Grammont are now at Peronne, where the general rendezvous and muster of the army is to be about this time. They do not here over confidently make the numbers as yet above 22,000 foot and 10,000 horse, as if they expected more. The affairs of Naples seem not so desperate but that they still continue their intentions of sending the fleet thither, with 8000 men, to be commanded by Prince Thomas, who goes hence within few days, and is to be generalissimo by sea and land; and under him, Lambert commands the militia, and the Duke de Richelieu the ships. Upon the news of the Duke of Guise's captivity, there were three couriers despatched away, the one to Madrid with the King's letters, avowing the duke to have been employed by order and commission from hence; a second to Naples; a third, by the Duke of Orleans to the Duke of Lorraine, demanding his intercession for the Duke of Guise; and by letters intercepted between the Duke of Guise and mistress here, it appears he is still no less prisoner to Venus than to Mars. The Duke of Schomberg is sworn Viceroy of Catalonia, and prepares to carry thither 3000 or 4000 fresh men. The verification of the edicts goes on but slowly, though the Grand Council and the Chambers of Parliament meet often about it, their consultations tending more to combinations against, than any compliance with, the King's will and pleasure. A broilery hath been about Mademoiselle receiving some overtures of a marriage with the Archduke Leopold, and some other things for which she hath been chid, and is confined to her lodgings. Upon Wednesday last, I acknowledged the receipt of yours of the

21st of April, and sent you an answer from E. W. Yesterday I received your welcome letter of the 24th, for which I thank you, and desire you to continue to write frequently; matter I am sure you cannot want in our unhappy kingdom, as fruitful as Africa itself in the production of monsters. By my cousin Keightly, who goes hence on Monday next, you you will have answers from the womankind: in the mean time, I am in their name to give you thanks for your care in the delivery of the things in the box, desiring you the next time you see my Lady M———, to let her ladyship know I am very mindful of the diamonds that are to be provided here. And I pray take an occasion to write, and in our names to acknowledge the kind tokens lately received from my Lady Clare and her daughters. Of our Prince's remove no certainty till the return of Sir William Fleming, or the sending somebody else out of Scotland. But there is a speech at St. Germains of sending my Lord Hopton with a commission into Wales, and perhaps my Lord Marquis Ormond into Ireland. I know not what to advise in the point of my friends' journey hither; they can best judge of that where they are. All I can say is, that they shall be heartily welcome, and that it will concern Mr. R. Lane to look after his business herein: that part whereof that jointly concerns him with Mr. L. G. is in no very good condition. All here cordially salute you. God bless us, and turn His face mercifully towards our miserable country, that we may meet happy at our own homes. So prays, &c.*

Paris, May 9th, 1648.

The state of the country during the imprisonment of the King, more especially after it was known that he had attempted his escape, and was put under closer watch, had become tumultuous. The county of Essex, torn by distractions, petitioned for a personal treaty with his Majesty; which the Commons promised to take into serious consideration. The North rung with clamours and threatenings; riots broke out in Colchester; the town of Berwick was surprised and taken in the name of the Prince of Wales, by Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Sir Charles Lucas, and others; and South Wales was in open rebellion. Rumours of skirmishes, and declarations, and risings in all parts of the country, poured in so thickly upon Parliament, that it soon became manifest that the work had to be done over again.

---

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

In South Wales the civil war was already renewed. The gentry were up in arms, most of them wearing blue and white ribands in their hats, with the motto "We long to see our King;" and such was the determination of the people, that wherever the Parliament forces appeared, the inhabitants would carry off their cattle and goods, and flying into the woods, leave their houses empty, the smiths cutting their bellows in the deserted forges, so that it was impossible to get a horse shod. "Their smiths are all gone," says a contemporary letter, "their bellows cut by themselves before they went. If one would give forty shillings for a horse-shoe, or a place to make it, it is not to be had. There is no possibility of ending this trouble, but by such a power, and such a way, as is lamentable to think." Such a power was found in the person of Cromwell, who was hastily despatched with 8000 horse and foot, into the insurgent districts; and Colonel Horton, the Parliamentary officer who commanded in Wales, prepared a brilliant prelude for his arrival by the signal defeat of a party of Royalists, at a place called St. Fagan's, near Cardiff. The particulars of the engagement are given in the following letter, at greater length than they are to be found elsewhere. Colonel Horton is described by Cromwell as a person of great integrity and courage. He did not survive this important victory very long, dying of the "country disease," in the October of the next year.

COLONEL THOMAS HORTON TO THE LORD GENERAL.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

I SHALL give you a narration (according to my own observation, and the help of some of the officers with me) both of the manner and success of our late engagement with the enemy, near St. Fagan's. The enemy having drawn off from St. Nicholas to Lankarnan, Penmark, and Fulmon Castle, Friday, the 5th of May; on the Lord's day, at night, they advanced towards us again, to St. Nicholas, by which we did presently apprehend that they intended to fight, and were induced to such a belief, the rather because they knew, two days before, that Lieutenant General Cromwell was coming towards us. This made us draw in all our horse close that night, as we had done divers nights before, and prepare for the worst in the morning; and about seven in the morning our scouts discovered their body about a mile and half from our quarters, upon which we drew out and took the best ground we could. Major Boothell commanded the horse on the right wing, Major Barton on the left wing, and Colonel Okey and his majors, with the dragoons, on both wings, with the horse. The enemy advanced fast, with a strong forlorn of foot, and about six pickering horse. Lieutenant Godfrey, with a forlorn of thirty horse and twenty dragoons, charged and routed them, doing good execution, which gave us the advantage of a new ground; for we advanced with horse and foot upon them. Captain Garland, with the firelocks on foot, and Captain Nickles, this bearer, with Colonel Okey's troop of dragoons, with some troops of horse on the right wing, disputed the first encounter very hotly with much resolution, until the forlorn of foot, commanded by Captain Leint, and more horse came from the left wing to their relief; and then they beat the enemy from hedge to hedge, half a mile before them, keeping very good order, considering the ground, until they came to a bridge and little brook, where the enemy's greatest body of foot were placed. The horse all this while and dragoons following this first success with much vigour, were constrained to stand the enemy's shot for some time before the foot (though they made great haste) could possibly get up to them; and presently the first division of foot, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Readfell, closed up to the enemy's front. Major Wadd, with the second division, got over the little brook, on the left flank of the enemy. Major Barton, likewise, with the left wing of horse, with much celerity passed over a boggy place and the little brook, to second those foot; and some of the enemy's horse coming on to charge the foot, were gallantly resisted and beaten back by Captain Hughes. By this time the horse on the right wing were gotten over likewise; the enemy's foot standing very stoutly to it, until our horse began to surround them, and then they presently all ran, and we cleared the field, our horse and dragoons pursuing them for seven or eight miles. The enemy's horse, which, they say, were 500, were employed in their rear to keep up their foot, and we never saw, after we were engaged, above sixty horse in a body, all the fight. Their whole number of horse and foot are confirmed to be about 8000. They had about 2500 musketeers by their own confession, besides pikes, Welsh bills, and clubs. We took up, the day we fought, above 2000 fire-arms, with pikes, bills, and such like Welsh weapons great store; ten barrels of powder, and all the rest of their ammunition in the field, and most, if not all their colours. The number of prisoners that were taken are about 3000. I have here inclosed a list of the officers, as they gave in themselves to the marshall. Some hundreds of them were disarmed, seven or eight miles from the place of the fight, which were let go. Captain Morgan, a member of the House of Commons, sent down by them into these parts, carried himself, from first to the last, with great resolution, encouraging the soldiers, and engaging himself in the heat of the service. Captain Jones, who came off from the enemy to me, long since, with a troop of 60 horse, behaved himself very well; as also all other officers and soldiers, I can truly say, kept their order in the performance of this service, to the admiration of the enemy, as some of them confess. And that God's mercy may be the more magnified in this late happy success over our enemy, I think it now seasonable to make known unto your Excellency the straits we were in, and difficulties which compassed us about: we having a potent enemy lying within two miles (upon much advantage of ground) before us, the high mountains close to us on the right hand, the sea near unto us on the left, Chepstow taken, and Monmouthshire beginning to rise in our rear, besides our great want of provisions, and long and hard duty, all which seemed to threaten our sudden ruin. That God should please, in this condition, so to own us, as to make a way for us through the midst of our enemies, and scatter them every way, is a mercy not to be forgotten, especially by those who have more immediately tasted of it, witnessing the truth of those things as they are herein expressed, by

Your Excellency's most humble and faithful servant,

THOS. HORTON.*

Bridgend, May 12*th*, 1648.

Some of the difficulties which arose to Lord Fairfax, upon his entrance into the renewal of the war, may be seen from a petition, addressed to him by the soldiers of a disbanded regiment. They still stood upon their right of petition, and required to be satisfied of the justice of the cause before they would consent to hazard their lives in the approaching hostilities.

PETITION OF COLONEL RICH'S REGIMENT, MAY, 1648.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

THAT honour which we deservedly owe to you obligeth us to render an account to you of our present actions, which may seem something irregular; but when the occasion of our motion, and the necessity urging us thereto, and our ends and intentions therein be well weighed, we are confident we shall be justified by every man free from prejudice.

---

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

We hope your Excellency remembers that in June last we were enforced, for the preservation of ourselves and the nation, to promote a petition, without the consent, and contrary to the express orders of our officers; and the freedom for which we hazarded our lives being then invaded, and our common right of petition denied us, we were constrained to associate together by a solemn engagement, at Newmarket, and to continue in arms contrary to the Parliament's order, to see the liberties and natural rights of ourselves and the nation cleared and secured. And although your Excellency did not at first concur with us, but gave forth orders to suppress our agents, and prevent their meetings, yet you were pleased afterwards to associate and engage with us in the common cause.

Now, the ends of the first engagement being in no measure accomplished, but the whole army being rendered odious to the people by the breach of their engagement; and the people being, since then, more enslaved to committees and other arbitrary powers, and their burdens increased, so that through the general discontent of the people and universal confusion is daily threatened a greater necessity than was in June last; constrained us to send some of our fellow-soldiers to St. Albans, to give us an account of the acting of those of other regiments, as to the presentation of our engagement: but to our amazement, not only contrary to the interests of our engagement, but to the undoubted freedom of every Englishman, our agents were violently seized upon and imprisoned, whilst they were peaceably preparing the inclosed petition; and although we have solicited your Excellency, by humble petitions, for their enlargement, yet they have been proceeded against by censuring some to imprisonment, and some to death. And we desire, that not only the justice of the matter of our petition may be weighed, but also the absolute necessity of an immediate settlement of these things therein. The army is now commanded to hazard their lives in a new war, and therefore ought to be satisfied in the justice of the cause; and how that is possible we know not, while we understand not what the freedom is which we should expend our blood to defend. And our desires are, if possible, that there might be no more effusion of blood; and we judge it necessary to that end, that the freedom which we challenge as our own native right might be particularly declared to all Englishmen, that all that are now in arms against the army may know that we neither seek their blood, nor yet to enslave them, but they shall partake equally with ourselves of that freedom which we defend with our lives. For this end it is that those things which we esteem the price of our blood were summed up in the petition hereunto annexed, and unless our desires therein be speedily answered, we cannot satisfy our consciences in hazarding our own lives, or spilling the blood of our countrymen.

These things we sadly offer to your Excellency's considerate thoughts, and the rather because your Excellency is more eminently concerned than any one of us, in all those reasons which have induced us to press for the perfecting of that work which, through God's blessing upon your conduct, was so happily begun, to the several contentment, not only of the soldiery, but of all the well-affected people in England. May it therefore please your Excellency so to look upon

Your Excellency's most faithful soldiers,
And humble servants.

May, 1648.

Wednesday, 17th May, was appointed thanksgiving day for the victory in Wales. On this day, Mr. Mabbott, a member of the Commons, sends an account of the proceedings in the House to Lord Fairfax.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY, THOMAS LORD FAIRFAX, THESE HUMBLY PRESENT.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

THE House of Commons on Monday last, ordered that thanks should be given to the committee of Kent, for their great pains upon examining the business of the riot in that county, and to desire them to proceed in the further examination thereof. The House yesterday, ordered that thanks should be given to the commoners and gentlemen of the counties of Flint, Denbigh, Chester, and Lancaster, for what they had done in preserving the peace of their counties. Sir Wilfred Lawson was acquitted of the charge laid against him, and ordered to repair into Cumberland for preservation of the peace of that county. The House then proceeded to debate the ordinance for the militia of London and approved of the Lord Mayor, Alderman Wollaston, Alderman Reynoldson, Clarke, Gibbs, Chambers, Foote, Avery, Bid, and Viner; Major Skippon, the two Sheriffs of London, Colonel West, Mr. Richard Glide, Mr. Edmond Browne, Peter Jones, Major Thomas Chamberlain, Colonel Thomas Player, Colonel John Bellamy, Mr. William Jesson, Lieutenant-Colonel Jackson, Mr. William Kendall, Mr. Thomas Arnold, Mr. Nathaniel Hall, Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Bellamy, Mr. Francis Waterhouse, Mr. Anthony Bateman, Mr. Thomas Andrews, Captain Richard Vennour, Mr. Peter Mills, Mr.

John Gace, Mr. John Iwim, to be the militia for the City of London. This day the House ordered thanks to Mr. Marshall and Mr. Bridge, for preaching this day before them. A committee was appointed to examine the matter of yesterday's tumults, and to state the business, and to draw a declaration upon the whole, and therein to set forth the course that ought to be observed, by petitioning according to custom and ancient practice. That the city be desired not to suffer any multitudes to pass through the city upon any pretence whatsoever, and to give power to disarm such. They further ordered that the ordinance for putting delinquents out of the late lines be renewed for six months. That the late rioters of the city be speedily tried, and a speedy account thereof given to the House. That the horse yesterday seized of the petitioners of Surrey, be not disposed of till further order. That the committees of Kent and Surrey be desired to prevent all tumultuous meetings in their counties upon any pretence of petitioning or otherwise. A letter this day from Colonel Horton, and a particular enclosed, was this day read and ordered to be printed. The Lord Mayor and twelve companies did strictly observe this day of thanksgiving, but all shops were open. The chief of the petitioners yesterday, of Surrey, expressed their hearty sorrow, and that they were ashamed of the incivilities and provocations of the petitioners to the soldiers. I have nothing further at present, but to subscribe myself

Your Excellency's most humble servant,

G. MABBOTT.

17*th May*, 1648.

In a brief note from Endymion Porter to Sir Richard Browne, we have a glimpse of the disheartening effect produced upon the Royalists abroad by the news of the unsettled state of affairs in England. The question of re-opening a treaty with the King was dragging slowly through the Commons, and from the preparations for a renewal of the war on all sides there was little hope of an amicable settlement of differences. Endymion Porter, a gentleman of the bed-chamber, high in favour with James and Charles I., was one of the most accomplished men of his time, a wit and a poet. He displayed much activity and dexterity during this period in the secret negociations and correspondence upon which he was employed in the service of the King.

MR. ENDYMION PORTER TO SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

Most honoured Sir and my dear Resident,

I wrote unto thee last week, but we have a cooler from England this, and therefore I cannot be so merry as I thought to have been; yet methinks Sir William Fleming and William Murray should not come thither empty handed. I hope they bring you chirping news, and that you will give William a vowee at the Spread Eagle, and not forget me, but dash me in one glass as you do an orange peel; and I believe William will not like the wine the worse. We are here in state of grace with the taking of Courtraye, and are confident to relieve Ypres, which if we do, let me tell you there will be foul breeks at Paris, for all the huge bang the Swedes have given the Emperor; but why should we English hearken after what other nations do. I would we were quiet at home, and let them fight, dog, &c.; kiss my sweet lady and countrywoman for me, and assure her I love her with my whole heart; and you may be confident that I am,

Dear sir,
Your faithful and most affectionate humble servant,
Endymion Porter.

Brussels, May 30*th*, 1648.

I beseech you command this letter to be sent to my lord marquis of Newcastle.*

The disturbances in Kent had now assumed so menacing an aspect that the reduction of the county was confided, with full discretionary powers, to Lord Fairfax. He was suffering from severe indisposition when he received this order; but we find the old spirit, notwithstanding, as energetic as ever. On the 29th May, he had a rendezvous at Blackheath, and marched at once towards Rochester. The people were rising in every direction, and the march is described in numerous letters, as a succession of flying skirmishes. Old Lord Goring had appeared amongst the insurgents, and been appointed General-in-Chief. An account of the engagement at Maidstone is supplied in the following letter (omitted by Rushworth) from Lord Fairfax to the Speaker of the House of Peers. In this engagement, Lord Fairfax, undergoing tortures from a malignant attack of gout in his right foot, could not be prevailed upon, says a gentleman who was present, to remain with the body in the field, "but mounted and exposed himself to great danger, being one of the first in this action."

---

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE EDWARD EARL OF MANCHESTER, SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF PEERS, *PRO TEMP.*

My Lord,

I shall, according to my last, give your lordship this further account of our success at Maidstone. Upon Thursday in the evening, about seven of the clock, after very long marches, we got near the town; and a troop of dragoons was sent to make good a pass, whilst the town was viewing at what place our men might best enter; it being resolved upon to force our passage in case of resistance, the gaining of that town over the river being of great advantage to our affairs. But, before there could be a view taken of the town, the dragoons had engaged the enemy, and forced them from that ground which they kept; the dragoons, being very forward to engage, pursued; and so the enemy drew forth a considerable party of horse and foot to maintain a pass against us, which necessitated the drawing down of the greatest part of the foot, with some horse; and though that part of the town was of the greatest difficulty to enter, yet, through the goodness of God, our men made their entrance, and became masters of the town, after four or five hours' hot service, the town being very strongly barricaded; and, through the darkness of the night, and our ignorance of the town, they disputed the barricades and places of advantage with our men, playing hard with their cannon upon them; in which service, both horse and foot did exceeding well; and particularly, I cannot but take notice of the valour and resolution of Colonel Hewson, whose regiment had the hardest task (Major Carter, his major, being hurt, and Captain Price, a deserving and faithful officer slain). The best of their men were there, whereof many were cavaliers and London apprentices. They looked upon the consequence of that place to be very great, and therefore did resolve to make what resistance they could; the old Lord Goring being that day proclaimed General, at the head of their army, upon the hill near Aylesford, where we saw their body drawn up, which, as their prisoners since do confess, and they themselves gave out, consisted of eight thousand, besides those in Maidstone and Aylesford, in both which places there were about three thousand men, those of Aylesford coming as a fresh supply to relieve those engaged in Maidstone. There were near three hundred slain, and about thirteen hundred prisoners; many of them being taken next morning early, in the woods, hop-yards and fields, whither they fled in the time of the fight; amongst which were gentlemen of good quality, Sir Gamaliel Dudley, Sir William Brockman, Squire Scott, Major Price, and others; a list whereof is preparing to be sent. There were about five hundred horse, three thousand arms, nine foot-colours, and eight pieces of cannon, with store of ammunition also, taken in the first charge which our forlorn hope gave the enemies' horse, wherein our horse carried themselves very gallantly (as I since hear). Sir John Maney and divers others of quality were slain. After it pleased God to give us this great mercy in the gaining the town, their men received so great discouragement, that the greatest part of their army left them and were dispersed, and a great number of officers and gentlemen since fled to shift for themselves. Their word at the engagement was, "King and Kent." Ours, "Truth." Having thus possessed ourselves of the passes at Maidstone and Aylesford; the enemy being much confused with our success, and their own men deserting them; they at last marched over Rochester Bridge, towards Blackheath, with about three thousand horse and foot, most of which were cavaliers, apprentices, and watermen. Our men not being able to make so speedy a march after them as was necessary, I sent Colonel Whalley, with a party of horse and dragoons after them; upon whose approach, they have left Kent, and are fled over the water into Essex, by Woolwich and Greenwich. Colonel Whalley is in pursuit, and I doubt not but he will give a good account of that service.

I have sent Colonel Rich, with a party of horse and foot, to relieve Dover, where I trust we shall find the same presence of God as hitherto hath been. My prayer to the Lord is, that this great mercy may be further improved, to His glory and this kingdom's good. I thought fit to present unto your lordships these papers inclosed, taken from the enemy, whereby you will receive the depth of their plot, and their engagements to pursue what they have undertaken. I remain,

Your lordship's humble servant,

T. Fairfax.

Rochester, June 4th, 1648.

I have secured the Mayor of Rochester, whose hand is to the commissions granted for raising of forces.

The scene is now suddenly shifted to the low grounds of Essex, where Goring, reinforced by Sir Charles Lucas, has established himself in considerable force. On the 10th June, Lord Fairfax prepared to cross the river. The following despatch is dated on the same day from the centre of the Essex camp.

EDWARD WHALLEY TO LORD FAIRFAX.

My Lord,

The enemy hath quitted Chelmsford, and marched to Lees, where, as soon as he came, he had 500 arms besides great ordnance, without resistance. We marched close in the rear of him; but he doth so overpower us with foot, that we cannot engage in this close country but with great disadvantage, to the hazard of the brigade. We are endeavouring a conjunction with Sir Thomas Honniwood's forces, who is reported to be 1200 horse and foot. Sir, it behoves you to hasten all the foot up you can, and to come yourself, otherwise the enemy will be suddenly formed into a considerable army, and will engage us. I shall need to say no more to your Excellency, but that I am,

My lord,
Your lordship's most humble and faithful servant,
Edw. Whalley.

Waltham, five miles from Chelmsford,
June 10*th*, 1648.

Our friends report the enemy to be 5000 horse and foot, and, like a snow-ball, increasing.

My lord—I desire to know which way and when your lordship comes, that I may take care to secure you; doubts the best way is by Gravesend.

My lord—Since the writing and sealing of this, I received your express, and shall desire your excellency's force may march by Gravesend to Tilbury, and so to Billericay.

Edw. Whalley.*

---

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

Before Fairfax crossed the river he reduced Kent to submission. Great show of preparation was on foot through the woods and villages of Essex, where the Royalists were struggling to make a stand—Goring at Bow, and the Earl of Norwich at Chelmsford. A meeting of the gentry of the county took place here, a sort of mixed council of war, which ended in a Babel of irreconcileable opinions. One thing alone was clear, that the attempt to resuscitate the King's cause was regarded by the majority of the King's friends who were present as a sheer piece of Quixotism. Some of them were for throwing down their arms: others for dispersing and dropping out of the town privately; many of them withdrew, and sent in their adhesion to the Parliamentary Commissioners who were then in Chelmsford. Symptoms of disorder were breaking out also amongst the soldiers. Goring had beaten a retreat from Bow; and the approach of Fairfax produced such a sensation at Chelmsford that Norwich was no longer able to keep his forces together there. In this crisis, Sir Charles Lucas, who was associated in the command with the Earl of Norwich and Lord Capel, effectually bubbled the troops by desperate misrepresentations of the strength of the party, and of successes and succours invented for the occasion.

Sir Charles Lucas belonged to that class of bullying, reckless, dare-devil adventurers who mixed largely in the ranks of the cavaliers, and were designated in their own day as soldiers of fortune. The campaigns of the Palatinate, the war with Spain, the siege of Rochelle, had taken off, in the early of part this reign, shoals of street brawlers and tavern gasconaders; and from these dregs of the English population was generated a new race of roarers and cut-purses, who returning home at the beginning of the Civil War, found ready employment in the King's service, which they disgraced by crimes and debaucheries. Sir Charles Lucas was distinguished by the unscrupulous passions and audacity of these people, with whom he had long associated abroad. Belonging, however, to a family of local consideration, he could not be regarded as a soldier of fortune in the ordinary sense, although his bearing assimilated him with that class. He was the second legitimate son (for the eldest was born before marriage) of the sheriff of the county; and his brother a zealous Royalist, from whose only child, a daughter, descends the noble house of De Grey, had been raised to the Peerage by the King in 1644. Sir Charles was bred up in stables and barracks; fencing, wrestling, and shooting, were the favourite pastimes of his youth; and his initial experiences of life were gathered under the Prince of Orange in the wars of the Low Countries. Daring and impetuous, having a high contempt for the refinements of courts and drawing-rooms, looking upon music, dancing, and such surface graces, as "too effeminate for masculine spirits;* free quarters, the camp, and the saddle were his glory. His manners took the colour of his habits; rude, bold and dissolute, the defects and vices of his education were equally conspicuous in his private intercourse. He was in his proper element amongst troopers and in the thick of a fight; but, says Clarendon (a statement confirmed by sufficient authorities), "at all other times and places, of a nature scarce to be lived with; of no good understanding, of a rough and proud humour, and very morose conversation." In this character we discover traits of sensuality and coarseness which offer a broad contrast to the romantic ideal of the gallant and generous cavalier. But the King's service was put to extremities in replenishing its *matériel*, and compelled to avail itself of all the unappropriated muscles that could be procured, without exercising much delicacy of choice. And thus the Royal army, which boasted of such noble spirits as Falkland and Hopton, was freely recruited from the troops of roystering brigands who poured into England at the first trumpet-blast of the war. This mixture of chivalry and baseness was not to be found on the other side. The Puritans fought for a *cause;* and this was the grand distinction between the two parties. Royalty made up its army, as Kings' armies time out of mind have been made up, by the standard of height and the seductions of pay; but the army of the Parliament was enlisted by a principle, and every man had his heart in the struggle, and staked his fortune on the issue. Hence, if the Puritans lacked the picturesque accessories and poetical elements with which the plumed and starred cavaliers have so plentifully supplied the pages of historical romance, they possessed purer and more earnest elements, steadfastness of purpose, devotion to the death, and a moral heroism less dazzling on the surface, but bequeathing to all time its solid triumphs and imperishable example.

---

* "A Relation of her Birth, &c." written by his sister Margaret, and quoted in a Memoir of Sir Charles Lucas, drawn up for private circulation by the present Earl De Grey.

In 1643, Sir Charles Lucas received a commission from the King, was present at Marston Moor, made an ineffectual attempt to burn Nottingham in 1644, and in 1645 had the command of Berkeley Castle, which he was compelled to surrender. He was taken prisoner on several occasions, but how he recovered his liberty, through what agency, or on what condition, is not known.

That he was a man of resolute character, ready to carry his objects by the most flagitious means, may be seen in his conduct at Chelmsford. News had arrived of a rising in Colchester—(news was hourly arriving of risings in fifty places)—and, as his personal influence there was matter of notoriety, he turned the circumstance to the most favourable account in working upon the vacillating hopes of the soldiers. This scrap of intelligence was intensified by the addition of gratuitous delusions. The troops were assured that Norfolk and Suffolk were preparing to join them; that Dover Castle and other strong places were already in the hands of the cavaliers; and that the King was actually on shipboard waiting for them in the Thames! And so, says recording Rushworth, surprised by these mendacious proceedings into a sudden burst of contempt, "by lies and tricks they seduced the people exceedingly." The "people" unfortunately are not always proof against "lies and tricks," and Lucas was exactly the person to put their aggregate weakness to an irresistible test. He succeeded accordingly in whisking them off in a fit of insane enthusiasm to the gates of Colchester, carrying with them the Parliamentary commissioners who had been sent to Chelmsford to treat with the insurgents. The situation of the commissioners was awkward enough when they were afterwards stowed away in the town during the siege, the inn in which they were lodged being occasionally struck with shot, so that they were obliged to send a special message to Fairfax, advertising him of the position of their house, in order that he might shoot in some other direction.

When Lucas reached Colchester the gates were shut. Fairfax was following close upon him, and, in consideration of his desperate circumstances, the inhabitants consented to receive him upon a strict engagement that property should be respected, and no injury offered to the people. But he had no sooner secured himself in the possession of the town, than he abandoned it to the wanton licentiousness of the soldiers, set fire to streets and houses, plundered the citizens, and committed other excesses of a revolting kind, himself setting the example in person. Frightful scenes were acted in private houses, the men being forcibly sent out of the way to facilitate the infamous designs of the brutish troops. One lady had a pistol placed at her breast, which she preferred to dishonour; and Lucas was saved from the commission of an unmanly crime by the opportune arrival of Lord Goring, who called him off to his duty.* The indignation of the people was heightened by the reflection that these atrocities were inflicted upon them by men to whom they had hospitably thrown open their town, as an asylum against a pursuing enemy.

On the 13th June, two days after the arrival of the Royalists, Fairfax appeared before Colchester, and summoned it to surrender. The summons was treated with supercilious irony, the Earl of Norwich asking the trumpeter how the General did, and adding "that he heard he was ill of the gout, but he would cure him of all diseases." Such was the spirit of insolence with which the negociations were opened by the Cavaliers. All Fairfax's proposals were scornfully rejected. The nature of them may be seen from the following document:—

PROCLAMATION TO COLONEL BARNARDISTON, TO BE PUBLISHED AMONG THE SUFFOLK FORCES.

Whereas, in answer to a letter sent out of Colchester, concerning a treaty, I have offered liberty to all private soldiers and persons of that rank, laying down arms, to depart to their own homes, and to be left free from the violence of the soldiers, together with other conditions to persons of other quality, I do therefore require and command all soldiers, officers, and others, whom these may concern, that in case before acceptance of, or agreement thereupon, the conditions tendered to all of the enemy's party for the surrender of the town, any private soldiers, or persons of that rank, shall come away from the enemy with their arms, or without, and shall peaceably come into the guards, rendering such arms as they have, or shall bring with them, that in such case no plunder nor violence be committed upon any such persons, and that they be quietly brought to the head quarters, there to receive passes for their repair to their own homes.

---

* The facts are given in detail, in a contemporaneous tract, entitled "Colchester's Teares: John Bellamy, Three Golden Lions, Cornhill, near the Exchange. 1648."

Given under my hand and seal, the 21st June, 1648.

T. Fairfax, L. G.

June 21*st*, 1648.

The same system of deception which had been resorted to at Chelmsford was actively employed to conceal from the troops the terms which were offered by Fairfax, and to delude them by the promise of succours, which were well known to be hopeless. We have an evidence of this in a proclamation which was read at the head of each regiment :—

All gentlemen and soldiers who have listed themselves under the immediate command of Sir Charles Lucas, General of the King's Forces, raised for the defence and preservation of his Majesty's Royal Person, Crown and Kingdom, are required to stand firm, and to defend their town against all opposition, being assured that, within a few days, his Highness, James, Duke of York, will come in to our assistance with a considerable army from Holland.*

---

* "Bloody News from Colchester concerning the late fight on Tuesday last between the Town, under the command of Sir Charles Lucas, and the Suffolk forces, near the East Gate, &c., 1648." The "late fight," was a skirmish

The Duke of York from Holland and the King in the Thames, represent only one class of the frauds that were practised on the soldiers. Another form of falsehood—the suppression of truth, which is very effective on most occasions—was also resorted to. The terms offered by Fairfax were either carefully concealed or falsified. When the troops asked what the trumpeters came so often about, they were told "that it was about a treaty; and that the General offered fifty thousand pounds if he (Goring) would let him draw off quietly with his army, but that he would not grant it."* And all this time the provisions in the town were vanishing to famine point, without the remotest prospect of relief. "We had lived," says one who was amongst them, "six weeks upon horseflesh, three days without bread, and remaining (as the chief officer of the store told us) but three barrels of powder in store."† When Lord Fairfax found that his offers were thus treacherously dealt with, and that the terms he had proposed were concealed from the soldiers and the townspeople, he caused copies of the following paper to be shot over the wall; so that the people should be apprised of the perils to which they were exposed by the perfidy of the commanders.

---

between the Suffolk troops, entrenched at the East Gate, and some of the besieged. These Suffolk troops were amongst the allies, whose assistance Lucas had promised to his followers.

* Rushworth.

† "A True and Perfect Relation of the Condition of those Noblemen and Gentlemen in Colchester: and their reason in yielding up the said towne to the Lord Fairfax. 1648."

PAPER SHOT INTO COLCHESTER.

The General the Lord Fairfax hath sent several summonses to the town, in one of which, he offered that all private soldiers and persons of that rank laying down arms, and engaging not to bear arms any more against the Parliament, should have liberty and passes to go to their several homes and there quietly to abide. The officers and gentlemen of quality, should have liberty and passes to go beyond sea with equipage befitting their qualities, engaging not to return unto this kingdom without leave from the Parliament, and all persons should have quarter and be free from plunder or violence of the soldiers. This being rejected and scornfully retorted by the Lord Norwich, Capel, and Sir Charles Lucas, the General yet offered to make good the same conditions to so many as should accept thereof, except those three persons themselves, which hath accordingly been performed with advantage to all such as have since come off. He hath lately summoned them again to surrender the town, and the officers to render themselves to the mercy, and the rest only to the future obedience of the Parliament. This also hath been rejected with scorn. Nevertheless, understanding that the Lord Goring, Capel, and Sir Charles Lucas, and some officers of their council, have concealed these overtures both from the soldiers and townsmen, and from many of the officers, and that they have given out as if they had good conditions offered to themselves if they would render up the soldiers, and perceiving that the soldiers and townsmen have been deluded by them and their chief agents with daily expectations of relief, while there is none at all towards them: the General is willing to make good the same conditions to so many as shall timely accept thereof, except the Lords Goring, Capel, and Lucas themselves, with the Lord Loughborough, Colonel Farr, Colonel Laurence, and Captain Lyon, and except all such soldiers as have been in the army since the siege, and are gone into the town.*

* * * * *

And further adds, that if the soldiers shall lay down arms and deliver up the persons aforesaid, they shall have liberty and passes to go to their several homes free from plunder and violence of the soldiers.

July 22*nd*, 1648.

The condition of affairs in the town became more deplorable daily. In vain the inhabitants appealed to Lord Goring. He told them that they had no reason to complain until horseflesh had reached tenpence a pound, and that they might eat their children if they wanted food. Butter had risen to five shillings a pound, and other provisions in proportion; but Goring and the rest still held out, beguiling the troops by assurances that the London apprentices had risen and were coming to their succour; that a 1000 horse were on the road to raise the siege; that Parliament was up and many members cut to pieces, and similar monstrous fabrications. In the midst of their strait, surrounded by a famishing population, they continued to exhibit an inexplicable spirit of cruelty, setting fire to the streets, and committing lawless brutalities in private houses; and these drunken and ferocious acts were crowned with the most daring insolence to the besiegers, returning to the repeated summonses of Fairfax such answers as this,—"That if any more letters of that kind were sent them, they would hang up the messenger."

---

* The intervening lines struck out in the original.

Obstinate in their resolution not to treat, they were, notwithstanding, so perfectly sensible of the impossibility of maintaining themselves much longer, that they kept their horses constantly saddled, and made many attempts to escape by night in which they were foiled by the activity of Fairfax. At last their situation became too desperate to admit of further parley; all communication with the country was intercepted; the water was cut off; no supplies of any kind could be procured; from horseflesh they were obliged to come down to dogs; and the few horses that were still kept for the use of the officers, were reduced to skeletons for want of food. In this miserable plight—but not till they had committed the most disgraceful violations of the usages of war by mixing sand with their small shot, and poisoning their bullets—they surrendered; the private soldiers and officers under captains, to have fair quarter, and the lords and superior officers to submit to mercy. On the 28th August, Norwich, Capel, Goring, Lucas, and the rest rendered themselves up, according to the articles, at the King's Head Inn, (an ominous sign for such an occasion!) and Lord Fairfax took possession of Colchester. "This morning," says Rushworth in a letter to Lenthall, "we rode round about the wall of the town, and found it a very strong place in all parts of it; where it was weakest there they made strong works, and strengthened it with earth; it was a sad spectacle to see so many fine houses burnt to ashes, and so many inhabitants made so sickly and weak, with living upon horses and dogs; many had to eat the very draught and grains for preservation of life."

After having inspected the town, Fairfax called a council of war, at which it was resolved that Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Lisle, and Sir Bernard Gascoigne, should be shot to death.* Sir Bernard Gascoigne was afterwards reprieved—the other two were led out at seven o'clock in the evening to a green spot under the walls of the castle, where the sentence was carried into execution in the presence of Colonels Ireton, Rainsborough, and Whalley. Sir Charles Lucas was led out first. Being placed opposite the three files of musketeers, he said, "I have often looked death in the face in the field of battle; you shall see I dare die." He then fell on his knees, and rising again he opened his doublets, and placing his hands by his sides, exclaimed, "See, I am ready! Rebels, do your worst!" They fired and he fell dead without a word. Sir George Lisle on being brought out knelt down and kissed the body of his friend, then standing up, he desired the musketers to draw near. "I warrant you, sir," said one of them, "we'll hit you;" upon which he answered with a smile, "I have been nearer when you have missed me." Then after a pause he said, "I 'm ready; traitors, do your worst!" He had hardly spoken when he dropped down dead.*

---

* In some of the Peerage Books it is carelessly stated that these cavaliers were shot by the orders of Cromwell, who was at that moment annihilating the Scotch army in Lancashire. Such mistakes are of frequent occurrence in the loose compilations that bear upon this period, the Editors of them unhesitatingly ascribing to Cromwell every act for which they cannot immediately find an authority, just as unappropriated jokes are set down in the Jest Books to the ruling wit of the day.

Great blame has been cast upon Lord Fairfax for the execution of these officers. But it is nowhere assumed that he exceeded the powers with which he was armed by the terms of the treaty. When he proposed that the superior officers should *submit upon mercy*, the question was raised as to what was meant by that phrase; and it was finally accepted at both sides as reserving to him the right of suffering some to go free, and of putting others to the sword. The agreement was perfectly explicit; and, however deeply the necessity, or the execution, of such extreme measures may be deplored, the strict legality of the act, in this instance, is above impeachment. Perhaps this is not the highest ground of justification; but so far as the honour of the soldier is involved it is complete.

Censure has pressed somewhat hardly upon Lord Fairfax in this matter. The executions took place under the sentence of a Council of War, for whose decision he was not responsible. So far even from desiring to influence that decision, he went into the court with reluctance, and would not have gone there at all, but at the request of the friends of the prisoners. His own account of the transaction is in these words:—"But it may be objected I went into the court during the trial; to which I answer, it was at the earnest request of my Lord Capel's friends, who desired me to explain there what was meant by surrendering to mercy; otherwise, I had not gone, being always unsatisfied with those courts."* The noble biographer of Lucas, although he charges upon Fairfax the responsibility of exercising the power reposed in his hands, adding that "the course he pursued leaves a bloody stain upon his memory," indirectly exonerates him to the extent of having been governed by the judgment of others rather than his own. "The manner of taking the lives of these worthy men," he observes, "was new, and without example, and concluded by all men to be very barbarous, and was generally imputed to Ireton, who swayed the General, and was upon all occasions of an unmerciful and bloody nature."† Whatever effect Ireton's opinion may have had at the trial, it is in the last degree unlikely that it exercised any undue weight with Fairfax, who, of all men, was the least accessible to private or personal influence. He had the warrant of a formal sentence for what he did, and acted upon it rigorously in the discharge of a public duty. As to the "*manner* of taking the lives of these worthy men" (whose worthiness, at least, we may be permitted to doubt), it was neither new nor unexampled, but in conformity with the established custom of military law.

---

* A pamphlet of the time, entitled "A true and exact relation of the taking of Colchester, sent in a letter from an officer of the army to a member of the House of Commons—1648," has a curious vignette representing this scene, with Lucas lying dead, and Lisle exclaiming "Shoot, rebels!" while four soldiers are pointing the muzzles of their guns close to his body. The rude design is enriched with an appropriate motto:

"Your shot your shame,
My fall my fame!"

---

* Short Memorial, p. 124.

† Memoirs of Sir Charles Lucas, p. 57. That Ireton was not quite so sanguinary a person as he is sometimes represented may be credited from the benevolence and forbearance he showed on many occasions; such, for example, as his intercession for that poor, shrinking, friendless knight, Sir John Owen.—See Col. Hutchinson's Memoirs, Ludlow, &c.

The actions of one party are not to be defended by reference to the actions of another; but it is only reasonable, if a "bloody stain" rests upon the memory of Lord Fairfax for the execution of Sir George Lisle and Sir Charles Lucas, that the examples of similar severity which were set on the other side should not be wholly overlooked. Such examples might be cited. One—that of Colonel Windebank—will suffice to show not only that the summary sentences of war councils were carried out with equal promptitude, but that the same mode of execution was also adopted by the Cavaliers. Colonel Windebank being surprised in April 1645 at Blechington House by Cromwell, and despairing of succour, capitulated on honourable terms, obtaining safe conduct for himself and his troops to Oxford, where the King lay. "But his Majesty," says Rushworth, "highly resented the surrender of this garrison so near Oxford in this manner, and Colonel Windebank was for the same called before a council of war, and condemned, and though by the interest of his father and friends great applications were made for saving his life, *he was* *shot to death*, and his brother, a Lieutenant-Colonel, laid down his commission." All wars cast "bloody stains" upon the memories of soldiers; and in judging at this distance of time of actions such as these, we must keep in view the temper of the age and the pressure of events, and be careful, above all; not to single out circumstances common to the civil wars of all countries, and stamp them as exceptional instances. What express severity was there in reference to Lisle or Lucas which does not also show with heightened colours in reference to Windebank? In neither case must we look for any justification beyond the urgency of war, which crushes all appeals to temperate reason, and sometimes finds in individual sacrifices an excuse of mercy to thousands. But the justification, such as it is, applies with equal force to both sides.

In his "Short Memorial," Lord Fairfax says that Lisle and Lucas were "soldiers of fortune, and falling into our hands by chance of war, were executed;" upon which the biographer of Lucas observes that this "is a gross misrepresentation of facts, at least so far as Sir Charles Lucas was concerned, who had a competent estate of his own, and was heir besides to the title and fortune of his brother, Lord Lucas." This is perfectly true. Sir Charles was not a soldier of fortune. But the question does not rest upon this fact, nor was it upon this ground that Sir Charles was put to death, although it might seem so from that shambling sentence. Sir Charles Lucas was amenable to the articles of war on other and more serious grounds; nor can the "Short Memorial," which is a mere scanty outline, never descending into details, written merely for private perusal, and not given to the world for nearly thirty years after the death of Lord Fairfax, be cited as an authority to fix responsibility of any kind upon the writer. Lord Fairfax was a great soldier, but his laurels fade, and we are almost tempted to doubt that he really won them, the moment he appears as an author. We must seek elsewhere for authentic explanations of the circumstances which that unsatisfactory "Memorial" touches so obscurely.

In a contemporary publication, already quoted, will be found the following passage:—"Sir Charles Lucas was conceived (and too true) to be the cause of the ruine of the place, his interest in the town drawing the army thither. He was the head of all those that did rise in this county, and so brought the odium of the country upon him, and at last grew harsh to the towns-people (a thing contrary to his wonted disposition) when they complained of a want of bread, not regarding what miserie he brought upon that place where he was born; besides, it was affirmed unto to him by four persons at his death, that he put two men to the sword with his own hands, in cold blood, long after quarter granted. The other [Lisle], as was informed, was a great cause of burning of the houses about the town, and a person bent to much mischief."* These facts have not been controverted. The cruelty exercised towards the town, not only in holding out a protracted and utterly hopeless siege, but in the destruction of property and the infliction of brutal outrages, had a large share in the condemnation of Lucas. But there was another and still more special charge against him.

---

* Colchester's Teares.

This charge is thus alluded to by the noble biographer:—"Baker, in his account of these transactions, says that Fairfax alleged in his letter to Parliament, that Lucas had falsified his word to him; adding, in a note, that 'this was alleged, but never proved.' It does not appear, however, by any copy of Fairfax's letter that he did make the allegation, or give any such reason for his conduct."* In Fairfax's letter to Lord Manchester, published by Rushworth, no such allegation is stated; but as Rushworth did not publish all the letters transmitted to Parliament by Fairfax, the evidence on this point is defective. Not being able to find the allegation either in the letter to Lord Manchester, or in the "Short Memorial," the biographer concludes that no such allegation was ever made. "Fairfax's detail," he observes, speaking of the "Short Memorial," "enters into so many particulars [we must venture to suggest, on the contrary, that the Memorial is singularly crude and deficient in details], that it is impossible to believe he would accidentally have omitted such an event; and as it was not published till *after* the time when he *is said to have accused Lucas of his want of*

---

* Memoir, p. 64.

honour, it must be looked upon as certain that he never did so charge him."* A book published by Mr. Sprigge, Fairfax's chaplain, in which the writer speaks of Lucas as a "soldier of *reputation* and valour," is cited in proof of the fact that the charge, even if it were made, was false. Is it possible, asks the biographer, that he (Sprigge) would have assigned this character "to one whom he had reason to believe capable of '*forfeiting his parole, his honour, and his faith?*' The book," he continues, "was published in 1647; before the charge was alleged to have been made (1648), but *long after* the time when the circumstances which alone could have given rise to it, had occurred, and when the accuracy or falsehood of any rumour must have been fully verified."† Now this evidence, granting all the circumstances assumed, does not really affect the point at issue. Sprigge might have been wholly ignorant of the fact that Lucas was out upon parole. Or, knowing the fact that he was out on parole, and not knowing that he had broken his parole (which as shall be shown presently, he could not have known) he may have had no reason for speaking otherwise of him than as a soldier of reputation. But, whether he knew the fact or not, it appears to have escaped the acute discrimination of the noble biographer that the dates upon which he relies in this negative testimony in favour of Lucas, distinctly prove that Mr. Sprigge's book cannot be admitted in evidence at all. The book was published in 1647—Lucas's violation of his parole took place in 1648, at the rising in Essex, when he joined the Earl of Norwich and led the troops to Colchester; so that when Mr. Sprigge pronounced Lucas to be a "soldier of *reputation*," Lucas had not committed the act which disentitled him to that honourable designation. Sprigge, therefore, must be put out of court. The noble biographer, however, is not only convinced, on Sprigge's testimonial to character, that the charge was false, but asserts his belief that no such charge was ever made by Fairfax. "In addition," he observes, "to the want of foundation for such a charge, there is every reason to believe that such a message *never was sent by Fairfax*, independent of the fact of his own silence on the subject. * * * * Supposing, for argument's sake, that an insulting answer from Fairfax to Lucas had been suppressed by the latter, it is impossible to believe that it would long have remained unknown."[*] This argument is extremely reasonable; but if it can be shown that the "insulting answer" not only did not remain long unknown, but that it was made known immediately after it was sent, the argument falls to the ground.

---

* Memoir, p. 65.

† Ib. p. 66.

Let us now turn to Rushworth. Under the date of the 20th June, upwards of two months before the surrender of the town, so that the besieged had ample notice of Lord Fairfax's opinions on this matter, we have the following record of the substance of letters from Colchester read before the House of Commons.

---

[*] Memoir, p. 67.

"Sir Charles Lucas sent a Trumpet, proposing an exchange for prisoners, but offering private men for officers and gentlemen, it was rejected. The Lord General sent his letter to Colchester, to acquaint them, that Sir Charles Lucas had forfeited his parole, and therefore not capable of command or trust in martial affairs: to this an answer, or rather excuse was returned."* The answer, or excuse, is not given; but here is indisputable proof that within seven days from the day when he summoned the town to surrender, Lord Fairfax distinctly charged Sir Charles Lucas with having broken his parole, and that the fact was immediately afterwards announced in the House of Commons, and, it is to be presumed, published in the usual way through the "diurnals." If this statement on the subject in Rushworth be not in itself considered final, the following letter, the original of which has been preserved amongst the Fairfax Correspondence, places the fact beyond all further controversy. It is the "answer," or "excuse," sent by Sir Charles Lucas in reply to the charge made against him by Fairfax.

FOR THE LORD FAIRFAX.

MY LORD,

IN your letter sent by your trumpeter to my Lord Capel, and another from your lordship to myself, you make exceptions to him concerning me, as being a prisoner still unto your lordship. Sir, I wonder that you should question me of any such engagement, since I purchased my freedom and estate at a high rate, by a great sum of money, which I paid into Goldsmiths' Hall, for which, according to the ordinances of the two Houses, I was to enjoy my freedom and estate.

---

* Rushworth, P. IV. Vol. II. p. 1160.

When I conceived myself in this condition, I sent a letter to your secretary, desiring him to advertise your lordship that I had punctually performed my engagements as they stood in relation to your lordship. Upon which I had notice from him that you accepted of my respects to you, which, truly, have never been wanting to your person. But, my lord, besides my inclinations and duty to the service I am in at present, be pleased to examine whether the law of nature hath not instigated me to take my sword again into my hand, for when I was in peaceable manner in London, there was a price set upon me by the Committee of Derby House, upon which I was constrained to retire myself into my own country, and to my native town, for refuge, where, my lord, I do remain, not your prisoner, but

Your lordship's very humble servant,

Charles Lucas.

Colchester, June the 19th, 1648.

This answer is important in two points of view. In the first place, it admits the fact, which seems to be more or less disputed, that Sir Charles Lucas had been a prisoner and under engagement of some kind, to Lord Fairfax—"You make exceptions concerning me, as being a prisoner *still* unto your lordship;" and in the second place, it sets up a defence for having again taken arms in the royal service, upon the validity of which the charge of having broken his parole must stand or fall.

No doubt exists that Lucas was made prisoner at the battle of Marston Moor. His biographer admits the fact, adding that "circumstances, now for ever lost, *may* have given rise to some report of the nature which Whitelock and Rushworth [alluding to the passage just quoted] have recorded." This is not clear. The statement in Rushworth is not a vague report, but an explicit statement of a charge publicly made by Lord Fairfax. Now it is not very probable that Lord Fairfax would have made such a charge without being able to substantiate it if required; and it is a mere begging of the question to attempt to set aside the charge because no proofs can now be traced of the circumstances under which the parole was entered upon. Proofs of that nature are superfluous. It is quite enough for all purposes to establish the fact, that Lucas had been Lord Fairfax's prisoner, since, according to the usage which invariably prevailed in such cases, he could not have regained his liberty on any other conditions than a pledge not to bear arms again against the Parliament. The parole is an inevitable corollary from the fact of having been taken in arms, and subsequently liberated.

Sir Charles Lucas's justification on the ground of having "purchased his freedom" is altogether untenable. The transaction at Goldsmiths' Hall simply ransomed his estate, but no more invested him with the right of bearing arms against the Parliament than of committing any other act in open violation of their authority. This part of the case is too obvious to need argument or illustration. The composition for his estate was nothing more than an indemnity for the past, but clearly had no reference to the future, or all gentlemen who compounded in like manner would have been equally at liberty to re-enter the royal service, a proceeding which would have again placed their estates in the same jeopardy from which they had just redeemed them.

Upon the whole, it may be fairly assumed that Lord Fairfax was justified in adopting the sentence of the Court, which confirmed the view he had himself expressed, when, so far back as June, he gave Lucas notice that he held him responsible for having forfeited his parole, his honour, and his faith, and that he considered him incapable of being treated with. But the question cannot be carried any farther. Posterity will pronounce its own judgment, according to its own lights, upon all such questions. It by no means follows that the course which is prescribed or defended by no higher warrant than military law or usage, is, therefore, the most just or wise; and there can be no hesitation in closing the consideration of this case by an expression of regret at the imperious necessity which controlled its tragical issue. That this necessity was felt by the Parliament, as it was by Lord Fairfax, is shown in the subsequent condemnation and execution of Lord Capel, who with

Goring and others was reserved by his lordship to be dealt with by the Parliament.

The surrender of Colchester was contemporaneous with the victorious movements of Cromwell in Lancashire. The following letter gives a rapid view of the famous battle of Preston. It is without a signature, but bears internal evidence of having been written by Sir Marmaduke Langdale, who had recently seized Berwick and Carlisle, and, flushed with flying conquests and a reinforcement of Yorkshire recruits, had hastened to the Western Border to join the Scotch army under Duke Hamilton. At the time when this letter was written the whole force of the Royalists had been scattered like chaff at Preston; and Langdale, endeavouring to make his escape as he could, and leaving his broken troops to shift for themselves, was made prisoner, as he tells us, and lodged in Nottingham Castle.

Sir,

This will give you a final account of my employment, which is now ended, being a prisoner in Nottingham Castle, where I have civil usage. You have heard the condition I was in at Settle and Gigleswick, with about 3000 foot and 600 horse, the 13th of August, where, hearing the Parliament forces were gathered together, and marching towards me, I went to acquaint Duke Hamilton therewith to Hornby, when he determined to march to Preston, where his army, being numerous in foot, he might have the greatest advantage upon his enemy in these inclosed countries. I marched near Clitherow towards Preston; in the march I met with my Lord Calender, and divers of the Scottish officers quartered in my way, with whom it was resolved to march to Preston; but for the present the intelligence was that the Parliament forces were divided, some part whereof were marched to Colne, and so to Manchester, to relieve that town in case we should press upon it; this made the officers of horse more negligent in repairing to Preston, but quartering wide in the country. The same night certain intelligence came that Lieutenant-General Cromwell, with all his forces, was within three miles of my quarters, which I immediately sent to the Duke, and told my Lord Leviston to acquaint Lieutenant-General Middleton therewith, and drew my forces together in a field, and so marched towards Preston betimes in the morning, where I found the Duke and Lord Calender, with most of the Scottish foot drawn up; their resolution was to march to Wigan, giving little credit to the intelligence that came the night before; but suffered their horse to continue in their quarters ten or twelve miles off within half an hour of our meeting, and by that time I was drawn into the closes near Preston; the enemy appeared with a small body of horse; the Scots continued their resolution for Wigan, for which end they drew their foot over the bridge. The enemy coming the same way that I had marched, fell upon my quarters, where we continued skirmishing six hours, in all which time the Scots sent me no relief; they had very few horse, so as they sent me but few, which were soon beaten. I defended the pass with various success many times, gaining ground of the enemy, and as the Scots acknowledge, they never saw any foot fight better than mine did. The Duke being incredulous that it was the whole army, sent Sir Lewis Dives to me, to whom I answered it was impossible any forces which were inconsiderable would adventure to press upon so great an army as we had, therefore he might conclude that it was all the power they could make, with which they were resolved to put all to the hazard: when I desired I might be seconded, and have more powder and ammunition. The Scots continued their march over the river, and did scour a lane near the bridge, whereby the Parliament forces came upon my flank; neither did the forces that were left for my supply come to my relief, but continued in the rear of mine: when most of the Scots were drawn over the bridge, the Parliament forces pressed upon me in van and flanks, and so drove me away into the town, where the Duke was in person, with some few horse; but all being lost, retreated over a ford to his foot. After my forces were beaten, the Parliament forces beat the Scotch from the bridge presently, and so came over into all the lanes, that we could not [rally] with the foot, but were forced to [retreat to Wigan] where we found Lieutenant-General Middleton, ready to advance towards Preston to the foot, which he did; but not finding the foot there, retreated towards Wigan, where the Duke was with his foot; mine totally lost; there they took a resolution to go to my Lord Byron, for which end they would march that night to Warrington. In their march, the Parliament forces fell so fast upon their rear that they could not reach Warrington that night; and Lieutenant-General Middleton, finding himself unable to withstand their forces, left the foot in Warrington to make their own conditions, so as we marched towards Malpas; six of the Scottish lords in this march left us, whereof my Lord Traquair was one; most part submitted to the Sheriff of Shropshire, and they sent two gentlemen of that country to the Duke, to offer him the same quarter that the Earl of Traquair had. From Malpas we marched to Drayton, and so to Stone; in our march from thence, the Parliament forces fell upon the rear, and took Lieutenant-General Middleton. The next morning, going to attend the Duke for his resolution, I found him extremely sick, not able to march; my Lord Calender seemed to refuse all wait of treaty, but rather to march northwards, where we had a considerable force, and the whole kingdom of Scotland at our backs; upon this we marched over the river. I had the van, and was marching:—presently my Lord Calender came to me, told he would march with me, but none of his forces would, and that he had much ado to escape them; that he was come with himself alone, his horse pricked in the foot, without cloak. I persuaded his lordship that it was better to return to his forces, because I could not protect him, seeing the Scots had left me. I was resolved to sever and shift every man for himself; but to capitulate I could not with a safe conscience. After some little discourse he returned to his forces and I marched towards Nottingham, where those few I had took several ways, and I got that night over Trent, and came to a house six miles from Nottingham, where myself, Colonel Owen, Lieutenant-Colonel Gallard, and Major Constable thought to have shrouded ourselves and so made no resistance, but were discovered, and so are in Nottingham Castle.*

August 26th, 1648.

The manner in which poor Sir Marmaduke was pounced upon is related in full by Mrs. Hutchinson, and makes a tolerably striking, half-humorous, half-miserable, melodramatic episode in the grand narrative of this resuscitated war. "Sir Marmaduke Langdale," says Mrs. Hutchinson, "after the rout of Hamilton, came with two or three other officers to a little alehouse which was upon Colonel Hutchinson's land, and there were so circumspect, that these country fellows who saw them by chance, suspecting they were no ordinary travellers, acquainted Mr. Windmerpoole, who lived within two or three miles, and had been Major to the Colonel [Hutchinson] in the first war; whereupon he came forth, with some few others, and sent down to the Colonel to acquaint him that some suspicious persons were at the lodge. The Colonel, hearing of it, took his servants out, and some approaching near the house, when Major Windmerpoole, being beforehand in the house, had given Langdale some jealousy that he might be surprised; thereupon one of his company went out to fetch out his horses, which were stopped for the present, and they seeing the Colonel coming up towards them, rendered themselves prisoners to Major Windmerpoole, and were sent to Nottingham Castle, where they continued some months, till at last Langdale, finding an opportunity, corrupted one of the guard, who furnished him with a soldier's disguise, and ran away with him."* The subsequent fortunes of Sir Marmaduke are unknown. He was one of the seven who, in the November of the present year, were excepted from pardon; on which occasion he fled with more success than when he hid himself in the alehouse. He fled into total oblivion. The Colonel Owen who was taken with him has been confounded with the Sir John Owen on whose behalf (because he was friendless and had nobody to speak for him) Colonels Hutchinson and Ireton interceded, obtaining a commutation of his sentence to banishment. But they were different persons, for at the time when the Colonel was taken prisoner with Langdale, Sir John was shut up in Windsor Castle, awaiting his trial for high treason. Concerning the other fugitive, Lieutenant-Colonel Gallard, history is silent.

---

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

---

* Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson.

The contagious spirit of popular revolt was, perhaps, never more strikingly illustrated than in the incidents which were occurring in Paris during this period. We have a minute account of them in letters from Sir Richard Browne, addressed, probably, to De Vic. The barricades alluded to are those of the Fronde, a reproduction of the barricades of the League, presenting the same features of suddenness and decision, and of complete calm when the work was done, which have been re-enacted so circumstantially in our own times. Much the same sort of struggle which was drawing to its conclusion in England, was now going forward in France between the Queen-Regent and the Parliament. Dismayed by the success of the English people, the Regent was beginning to give way, when the unexpected victory of Lens inspired her with fresh courage, and, imagining that despotism was once more secure under the laurels of Condé, she rapidly seized the persons of six * of the most popular members of the

---

* Sir Richard Browne mentions only two.

Assembly. This violent act was instantly followed by one of those revolutions in the streets which, in later times, have hurled dynasties in three hours from the throne. Even Sir Richard Browne is so impressed by the extraordinary rapidity of the re-action, that while he feels it to be "a dangerous thing to let the many-headed monster know its strength," he is compelled to confess, that "the safety of a Prince consists more in the love of his people than in the steel, or number of his guards." Great must have been the force of the events which wrung this apothegm from courtly Sir Richard!

In that passage of his letter which describes the return of the Parliamentary deputies to the Queen with a fresh demand from the barricades, he omits to mention that the Queen of England was present. Whether the example of the calamities which she and her family were at that moment enduring, in consequence of their infatuated resistance to public opinion, had any effect, does not appear; but we may infer so, from the only observation she is said to have made, that "the troubles in London were never more passionate nor more alarming." The situation of all parties concerned at this interview was highly dramatic: one Queen capitulating for her safety with an embassy from the people, in the presence of another Queen who was exiled for refusing to entertain similar appeals. A single false step—the slightest exhibition of obstinacy—a rash word, would have reduced the Royalty of France to the same forlorn condition.

SIR R. BROWNE TO ———

SIR,

THE Prince of Condé's victory, mentioned in my last, proves true; the second advices having not only confirmed, but improved the first report; for though the French were a third less in number, yet there were in this battle (now called the battle of Lens) thirty-eight pieces of cannon taken, with the carriages and ammunition thereunto belonging, the most part of their baggage, 120 ensigns and cornets, 500 officers, amongst whom General Beck (since dead of his wounds at Arras), the Prince of Ligny, general of the horse, the Count de St. Amour, who commanded a brigade, Beck's son, and divers others of quality, 3000 killed upon the place, and 5000 prisoners taken; a particular relation of all which is here amply set out in print.

This victory hath certainly been one of the most wonderful and opportune successes that the French have had since this war. The consequences whereof would doubtless prove of great advantage to this Crown—if a domestic cloud obscure not the glory of this foreign triumph; for on Wednesday last a *De profundis* was improvidently begun in the town whilst the King and Queen were at Nôtre Dame celebrating the *Te Deum*, under pretence whereof the Guards being, according to custom, disposed in the way between the Palais Cardinal and the Church, this opportunity was made use of for seizing of Monsieur de Brussells and Monsieur de Blameny, two of the forwardest members of the Parliament in their late undertaken work of reformation, who being violently surprised in their houses, and carried away prisoners, the people began instantly to rise, to draw the chains, and to unpave and barricade the streets, in such sort that after the King's return from church the Guards were dispersed in several parts of the city, and that night the bourgeois held council,/and so combined, that the next morning they stopped the Chancellor's coach as he went to interdict the Parliament, and forced him to save himself in the Duke de Luyne's house, near the Pont St. Michael, which they violently and tumultuously entered and pillaged, but missed the Chancellor, who was hid under a bed, (or, as some say, in a cupboard,) from whence Marshal de La Meilleray, with some companies of the Guard, rescued and conducted him to the Palais Cardinal, the Chancellor (by reason of the chains being drawn) marching in the middle of the Guards afoot, holding his square cap in his hand, and in this, his recovery, many on both sides lost their lives, amongst whom a Swiss Captain, and the Chancellor Exempt, and coachman. Hereupon the Parliament went to the Queen Regent with humble remonstrances, to redemand their members, who being by the Queen treated with high language, and dismissed unsatified, in their return coming to the first chain, not far from the Court gates, where the people stood in guard, and understanding that the restitution of the Parliament was denied, they were by the people sent back again to Court, and told that there was no entrance for them into the city, unless they prevailed in their demand, which after a long attendance (during which the Queen gave them a collation,) towards evening was granted unto them, upon condition that between this and their breaking up at the vintage vacation, they should handle only those three points, the tariff, the officers' wages, and the rents upon the town-house; and *lettres-de-cachet* were immediately expedited for the enlargement and bringing back of the members, who sat again yesterday in Parliament, till performance whereof the whole town continued in arms, barricaded at every street; and as the people have had their will in this, they will, it is feared, proceed to higher demands, so dangerous a thing it is to let this many-headed monster know its own strength; and if the provinces (as it is thought they will) should rise, this so absolute and self-confiding government may by woful experience find that the safety of a Prince consists more in the love of his people than in the steel, or number of his Guards.

Yours of the 14th is safe arrived. I congratulate, &c.

R. B.

Paris, August 29th, 1648.

SIR R. BROWNE, AT PARIS, TO ———.

SIR,

UPON the return of Monsieur de Bruxelles, the foul weather here, mentioned in my last, began suddenly to clear up; all the Corps de Gardes, as he passed along, entertaining him with volleys of shot and acclamations, the people crying nothing but Vive le Roy et Monsieur de Bruxelles, and the women running out of their houses to salute and embrace him; whereupon the chains were presently let down, and the barricades taken away. Since when, the captains, sheriffs, and other officers of the City, and also the Corps de Marchands, have all been at the Palais Cardinal, to assure the Queen that their taking up arms and raising barricades was only in their own defence, and to secure the City from the violence and plunder of the meaner sort of people, who, being the greater number, are apt to lay hold of any occasion for rapine; which hath passed for so good payment, that the Queen remains well satisfied, useth them very civilly, and gives them thanks for their so great and so unanimous care in the conservation and safety of the public. And truly it is admirable to consider so high a going sea should so suddenly be appeased, and how so many, and so sufficient barricades (far exceeding, as our cinquanters tell us, those of 588, in Henry the Third's time,) should in so few hours be erected and demolished. Some convulsions, it is true, have, since this hot fit appeared; and the people have taken an account, in writing, of every family which, upon the like occasion, shall be enjoined to furnish a man. But in outward show, here is now no other face but that of peace and quiet; and the Parliament doth work, forenoon and afternoon, upon three points,—the tariff, the officers' wages, and the town rents, and are (in regard the finances are now disordered, till they, by bringing their deliberations to maturity, settle some course for the coming in of the Crown revenue,) about to demand leave of the King to continue their session during this approaching vacation. The Chancellor is returned to his house; but Marshal de la Meilleraye keeps sanctuary in the Palais Cardinal, and talks of quitting his superintendancy, and retiring to his government, so guilty it seems he is of having irreconcileably exasperated the people.

The siege of Tournay is assured, (I hear it capitulates); and it is said Dixmunde is likewise invested by the Prince of Condé, who, for certain, forbore any new engagement, till he saw whether his army would not be useful here, and be commanded hither for the reduction of this city.

The taking of Cremona is still expected; but the French fleet, having lain many days near the Isle of Procyta, and finding no compliance or encouragement from the Neapolitans, is returned to Porto Longone, from whence part is to be sent to Catalonia, where they hope for better success.

The Duke of Anjou is fallen sick of the small-pox. The prisoners of note, taken in the battle of Lens, are brought to the Bois de Vincennes.

An express hath newly brought the relation of a defeat the Marshal Rauzan should have given to M. Stendrate, near Tournay, wherein 1500 were taken prisoners, with three pieces of cannon.

The Queen, two days since, sent for the Parliament, and told them that it was her act alone, contrary to the opinion of her Council, to seize upon those members, and that she, being very well satisfied of their good intention to the King and State, willed them to proceed in what manner they pleased, and bring their good intentions to a happy end.

The yesterday's post not being yet come, I have received none from you this week, nor none from England, but one from W. Peters, which requires no answer.

I pray communicate this to Sir A. H. And let the Earl of Arundel know that I, yesterday, according to his lordship's commands, sent a post to Brussels, to his son, of which I here this day give his lordship an account in a letter. But as his lordship's came to me opened, so perhaps mine to his lordship may be intercepted. And, &c.

Sep. 5th, 1648.

A letter, upon English affairs, from one of Sir Richard Browne's correspondents, and another from Sir Richard touching upon French matters, throw more side lights upon the vital action of the times abroad and at home.

DE GARDE (PROBABLY A PSEUDONYME) TO SIR R. BROWNE.

SIR,

THE opportunity of sending now by a good hand, makes me huddle up a letter in great haste to give you the inclosed, made at adventure, and, in truth, copy of the one was forgot; but it is only half a dozen kind lines in behalf of Mr. ———, much to the substance of the recital in the other. Monday I shall have convenience of sending by another, for then the commissioners go up, if not stayed by a new prolongation, to the report of their work the —— and the —— last days. The sum this: the bishops and their lands, stood upon by the King, a form of service not insisted on, seeing the latitude of the directory. None suffered to lose life or estate for delinquency; some to be absented, if thought fit; the rest that they may compound, and desired it may be easily. The like for new delinquents. None to be their councillors, judges, or other officers, but by consent of both Houses. Lord Ormond written to by the King to desist in Ireland, as the two Houses here have desired; and if he refuse, a declaration then to follow, as now demanded. This ———will note, and make quick use of. Yet the King keeps a good heart for the Marquis of Ormond. By my next you shall have, I hope, Mr. Fanshawe's business. P. W. will write, who stays (as doth N. O.) by order of the King, as long as may be. A prolongation is supposed may come for some Scottish concernments. I write you no London news, but am, sir, your humble servant,

DE GARDE.

November 26*th*, 1648.

SIR R. BROWNE TO ———.

NOTWITHSTANDING that the late long conferences at Munster, between Monsieur de Serment and the Monsieur Le Brun, seems to give some hopes of a peace between the two Crowns, yet they here begin their vigorous preparations for the next campaign, towards the expense whereof Mademoiselle de Le Meilleraye pretends to have already got five-and-thirty of the fifty millions designed; and the Parliament goes briskly on in their pretended reformation, having lately given an arrest for the revocation of all the King's demesne lands engaged to particular persons: another forbidding the taking to farm the tailles, or contracting with the King for them by way of advance: a third for reduction of the comptants to three millions a-year: and a fourth, that no money should be raised upon the subject by virtue of any edicts not first verified in Parliament. Cardinal Mazarin hath been a little indisposed with a swelling in his foot, since the great feast he made a week since to all the princes, among whom the Duke de Mercure, whose father hath leave to roam to Mercure in Auvergne, and there reside, and not elsewhere. One Machon, Archdeacon of Toule, a learned man that heretofore lived in the Chancellor's house, is taken and imprisoned, for having counterfeited the Broad Seal. Monsieur D'Avaux, by some pensions, and by making a nephew of his captain in the regiment of Guards, is recompensed for his superintendent's place. The Abbé de la Riviere is Ministre d'Etat.

R. B.*

Paris, November 28th, 1648.

---

* All these letters connected with Sir R. Browne, are from Mr. Bentley's Collection.

In the subsequent transactions of this year, labouring with the great catastrophe which brought the struggle to a close on the scaffold, Lord Fairfax bore an important part. The main facts may be thus rapidly noted.

Parliament had rescinded their votes against holding further negociation with the King, and agreed to enter upon the personal treaty demanded by his Majesty. The residence at Carisbrook was rendered more agreeable to the royal prisoner, who was permitted to ride about the island on his own personal engagement to Colonel Hammond, and then removed to the house of Sir William Hodges at Newport, where he held his court, if not with the pomp, at least with the semblance of regality, ceremoniously receiving the commissioners appointed to treat with him, retiring from time to time into his closet with his three privy councillors, and issuing letters to the sheriff of London in the usual state form, as if they came from Whitehall or Windsor.* In the midst of this short gleam of kingly show, there was an incident which shook the superstitious heart of the multitude. Lilly, in his book of Astrological Predictions, published about this time, foretold that if his Majesty were suffered to be at liberty there would be danger to his person by inordinate horsemanship [symbolical, doubtless, of all other inordinatenesses], or by some fall from on high. The prophecy was literally fulfilled on the spot, as its larger meaning was afterwards realised at Whitehall. "Riding down a steep hill," says a private letter, "his Majesty's bridle broke, and the horse ran down with him, to the great terror of the beholders; but God be praised, his exquisite skill in riding (but Providence chiefly) prevented him." If his skill had enabled him to manage his treaties as well as his horses, it might have preserved him from the worse dangers that lay yet before him.

---

* Rushworth, p. 1272. Looking a little in advance, the reader is struck with feelings of profound pity by his Majesty's letter to "Our trusty and well-beloved Richard Brown, sheriff elect," dated "From our Court at Newport," desiring him to use his best endeavours to obtain the reprieve of the two sons of his Majesty's haberdasher, who were under sentence of death for robbery. Confident in his power to the last! and how that power is shattered by the reception of this royal letter in the Commons—"The Commons ordered, 'That the said prisoners be left to the justice of the Law!'"

The progress of the treaty was slow; his Majesty's answers were dilatory, and, for the greater part, as usual, unsatisfactory. But Parliament in rescinding its resolution to trust no more to his Majesty's good faith, had abandoned the high ground which they had won at such expenditure of blood and suffering, and were willing to yield up all the advantages they had gained at the moment when they had secured the means of dictating the rights and liberties for which they had struggled. It was finally resolved to accept his Majesty's "condescensions," as his answers were called.

The whole of these proceedings were in direct opposition to the solemn Remonstrance of the army; and Fairfax found it necessary once more to take the affairs of the kingdom into his own keeping. His first step was to supersede Hammond, and direct him to attend at the head-quarters of the army at Windsor. Parliament countermanded this order, and desired him to remain where he was. But Hammond saw the line of his duty clearly, and repaired at once to Windsor. The next movement was to secure the person of the King. Troops were ordered into the Isle of Wight, the King's house surrounded, and his Majesty conveyed in his coach to Hurst Castle. This primary object gained, Fairfax advanced upon London, giving notice to the authorities that he should immediately require the payment of the arrears due to the soldiery.

Settling down, like a sudden shower of swords, in St. James's, Whitehall, Palace Yard, and the suburbs, the army was now in a position to carry out "its own demands." The City Trained Bands were removed from the service of Parliament, and the doors were guarded by regular troops under the command of Colonel Rich and Colonel Pride. All history is familiar with Pride's Purge. It was the most effectual of drastics. Forty-one members—"incendiaries" to a man, and amongst them some of the disabled Eleven who had been re-admitted into the house in defiance of the order for their expulsion, and through whose influence the Commons had been recently warped from its course—were seized and lodged at a house in Westminster called "Hell," and from thence drafted into two inns in the Strand, the King's Head and the Swan, where they were placed under a guard. Other members were warned not to attempt to take their seats. In vain the Commons appointed Committees to confer with the army. Unspeakable consternation prevails in-doors and out-doors; and in the height of the terror, through which nothing is clear but the steadfastness of the army, Cromwell comes to town crowned with victory from the North.

The House of Commons, relieved by Fairfax for the second time from faction and divided councils, proceeded eagerly to the vindication of its independence. The rescinding votes were in turn rescinded. The personal treaty was annulled. It was declared that all ceremonies of state hitherto observed towards the King, even to presentations on the knee, should be abolished; and an ordinance was passed for attainting his Majesty of High Treason, and for trying him by a Commission to be appointed for that purpose.

Towards the close of December this great question was in debate between the two Houses. The Lords, appalled at the close approach of the popular power arrayed against hereditary dignities and divine right, hesitated and demurred. The King, in the meanwhile, stripped of attendance, despoiled of all royal state and circumstance, and reduced to the plain style and title of Charles Stuart, awaits the issue under durance in Windsor Castle; and the curtain of the year falls upon a scene of intense suspense and agitation, to rise in a few days upon the solemn tribunal in Westminster Hall, where the King stands at the bar to answer to the indictment which charges him with high treason against the liberties of the country.

1649—1651.

TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF THE KING.
LORD FAIRFAX RETIRES FROM PUBLIC LIFE.
AFFAIRS OF IRELAND.
POLITICAL GOSSIP.
BATTLE OF WORCESTER.
PRINCE CHARLES ESCAPES TO FRANCE.

1649—1651.

The trial of the King was the act of the Commons. The Lords rejected the ordinance, and the Commons carried it out without them. The case was new, and new forms were called into existence for its adjudication.

Heretofore when differences arose between the two Houses, the questions in debate became the subject of negociation, or were resumed in the Chamber where they originated, and sent back again. Up to this hour, the Commons had been tender of these usages; and had shown on more than one occasion, a scrupulous anxiety to protect the privileges of the Lords. But they now no longer affected even to deliberate upon the vote of the Upper House. A crisis had arrived in which established usages, the types of unity of action in the Legislature, were over-ruled by a paramount necessity:—one of those crises which demand the suspension of old institutions to facilitate some indispensable violation of the law. The Commons at once trampled down all precedents, shook off the Lords, and forming themselves into a "Grand Committee," agreed to the following Resolutions without a single dissentient voice. In these Resolutions we have the first authentic enunciation of the principle, THAT THE PEOPLE ARE THE SOURCE OF ALL POWER.

Resolved:—That the Commons of England in Parliament assembled do declare, That the People, under God, are the original of all just Powers.

They do likewise declare, That the Commons of England assembled in Parliament, being chosen by, and representing the People, have the supreme authority of this Nation.

They do likewise declare, That whatsoever is enacted and declared law by the Commons of England assembled in Parliament, hath the force of law, and all the People of this Nation are included thereby, although the consent and concurrence of the King and House of Peers be not had thereunto.

Under the power and authority thus declared, the House proceeded to the appointment of Commissioners to constitute a High Court of Justice "for trying and judging Charles Stuart, King of England." At the head of the list of Commissioners stood the name of Thomas, Lord Fairfax.

The Commissioners were called together on the 8th January. Lord Fairfax was present at that meeting. Proclamation was ordered to be made of the next sitting. The precept authorising the proclamation was not signed by Lord Fairfax. He never attended again.

Several preliminary sittings were afterwards held for ordering the manner of the trial, which opened in the Painted Chamber at Westminster, on the 19th. It was on this occasion that Lady Fairfax interrupted the proceedings of the Court when the name of her husband was called over, by declaring "that he had more wit than to be there;" adding in a loud voice, "that the proceeding had not the consent of half the people of England, and that Oliver Cromwell was a traitor."*

The opinions of Lord Fairfax in reference to these proceedings were undisguised, and he took the earliest and most conspicuous opportunity of making them known. His position was one of peculiar difficulty. Acting upon the remonstrance of the army, which had for its object the vindication of the liberties of the people through the independence of the Legislature, he cleared the House of Commons of the Malignants who had hitherto succeeded in fettering its free action and confounding its councils. Forty-one were swept away at a single motion; in a few days others were arrested or driven from the doors; upwards of a hundred altogether. The House was no sooner relieved from its incubus, than it rose to an ascendancy never contemplated within the scope of Fairfax's design. The waters were loosened, and no human power could stay the flood. He who had, hitherto, controlled the army and preserved the Parliament, was now himself coerced by both.

---

* Fairfax Correspondence, I. cv. In the "Memorials of English Affairs," dated 22nd January, 1648 [9], we find the following account of this scene. "There were strict guards, many souldiers, and a great press of people at the trial of the King. The House sat only to adjourn. Some who sat on the scaffolds about the Court at the trial (particularly the Lady Fairfax, the Lord General's wife), did not forbear to exclaim aloud against the proceedings of the Court, and the irreverent usage of the King by his subjects, insomuch that the Court was interrupted, and the souldiers and officers of the Court had much to do to quiet the ladies and others."

The Court established for the trial of the King was unknown to the constitution of this country. Dimly as the constitution was defined in those days, one thing at least was certain, that the Commons had never possessed or exercised any separate power, judicial or legislative, apart from the Lords. The proceeding was a revolution in itself. One estate of the realm was extinguished in the person of the King, who was a prisoner, and was conveyed to the place of trial in a boat guarded by musketeers. The House of Lords was shut up. The Commons in the name of the People, usurped the whole functions of the State. Fairfax nominally at the head of the army, was really powerless, and suffered himself to be made the passive instrument of acts which his judgment and his conscience disapproved. Orders which he never saw were issued in his name; measures against which he protested, were executed under the assumed sanction of his authority. His apology for adopting a line of conduct which so gravely compromised his personal credit was, that he submitted to one evil to avert a worse. Had he withdrawn from his command at this moment the consequences must undoubtedly have been serious, and would have plunged the kingdom into greater distractions than ever. A portion of the army would have followed him under any circumstances; the Royalists would have risen afresh; and the emotion of pity and sympathy with which the people were beginning to be touched by the misfortunes of the Sovereign, would have broken out into demonstrations which neither Parliament nor Army could hope to appease. It was true, as Lady Fairfax courageously asserted in the face of the tribunal, that not half the people of England approved of the Bill of Attainder. The slightest excuse would have drawn out the latent remorse, the generous doubts, the desire for pardon and oblivion of the past, which lay in the heart of the people. On the other hand, the general body of the army, goaded by wrongs and insults, and impatient for such fierce restitution as the fiercest of measures alone could procure, were eager for extremities. At the first defection in an influential quarter, faction would have sprung into renewed activity, the popular party would have been instantly broken up ; the army, rent by divisions, would have convulsed the kingdom by a Servile War ; and, without an intelligible principle to espouse on any side, the horrors of the last five years would have been re-enacted with tenfold violence, recklessness, and confusion. Fairfax saw the difficulties of his position, and shrank from the responsibility of a step which must have precipitated such results. His friends in Parliament urged upon him the prudential course which he deemed it his duty to follow. They had their own objects to serve, and he was so entirely uninfluenced by motives of personal ambition, that he was easily persuaded to sacrifice himself to the repose of his country. He desired earnestly to retire from his command; but it would have exposed him to misconstructions which he held to be fraught with imminent danger; and he continued at the head of the troops till the dismal tragedy was over, and the helm of the State had passed into other hands. "So long as I acted their designs," he tells us, "I might have attained to what height of power and other advantages I pleased."* This was what he dreaded. On that famous day when the House of Commons was invested, and Pride's infantry filled Westminster Hall, the sceptre was within his reach. On that day he was the foremost man in England. He was the idol of the army, who had it in their power to bear down all obstacles, and who *did* bear down all obstacles, notwithstanding his secession. His forbearance in both directions looks like weakness and inconsistency; yet it must be allowed that the motives by which he was governed are entitled to consideration. It is by no means certain that if he had openly resisted the Commons he could have saved the Monarchy; but it is quite certain that if he had saved it by such means he would have restored the deposed tyranny in greater strength than ever, exulting in its victory over popular principles, and devoting its recovered power to the gratification of a wide and sanguinary revenge. Such was the dilemma in which Fairfax stood. Instead of meeting, he avoided its difficulties; and in that hour of England's greatest peril he vanished from the page of history.

---

* Short Memorial.

Retaining his shadowy command of the army until after the execution of the King, and, still unwilling to interfere publicly with actions which he could neither control nor modify, he satisfied his honour by protests in the Council Chamber, and then, overwhelmed by the Regicides, he relinquished his commission, and retired to his estate at Nun Appleton, where he lived in obscurity throughout the term of the Commonwealth. The suddenness of his eclipse was the most remarkable incident in his life—more remarkable than the piled-up glory of his breathless triumphs. He carried into his retreat the memory of a brilliant military career, a body scarred with wounds, and a pure conscience. No man, having such opportunities of personal aggrandisement, ever came out of them with cleaner hands. To him his country was mainly indebted for the vindication of its liberties —he owed his country nothing. The course which he took upon the King's trial is open to much discussion; but the worst that can be said of it is, that he faltered at a time when decision, either way, might have precipitated the ruin of the cause to which he was devoted. Fairfax was a Soldier, not a Statesman; and when the scene of action was removed from the entrenched field to the Painted Chamber, his genius was perplexed and baffled by elements with which he was unfit to deal.

Throughout these years of retirement, from 1649 to the Restoration, the Fairfax Correspondence is silent upon public affairs. The Parliamentary General had wholly withdrawn himself from the strife, and even its echoes hardly reached him in his retreat, where physical ailments, the legacies of war, gave him occupation enough. But we are enabled, from other sources, to supply some original letters, which afford occasional illustrations of the history of the interval.

The following relate chiefly to the affairs of Ireland, and are full of curious details respecting the movements of the Royalists. We have here, also, some specimens of that cypher writing which was adopted in their secret correspondence.

THOMAS TALBOT TO ———.*

SIR,

I HAD more often presented my humble service unto you, but that these four months his Majesty is expected here; but now that Sir James Preston goeth hither with some dispatches, I should have much wronged myself and injured you had I not made some acknowledgment for the many obligations and favours you have been pleased to honour me with; and if in my power, or of any with whom I have credit here, we can serve you with much affection and reality, you may command us all,—which, when God will be pleased that we shall meet in this kingdom, I will endeavour to make demonstrations of my so great desire to serve you.

Sir James Preston is one who extremely deserved to be countenanced and favoured by his Majesty; for I can assure you he hath done several acceptable services, which, because already known, and by others—of greater credit than I am of—expressed, I will omit the particulars; only 'tis well known, had not his father, General Preston, and himself, laboured so faithfully to advance the King's service here, this kingdom had been in a very sad condition, and the work could not come to that perfection; and his Majesty will, God willing, find it at his arrival in this kingdom, which, I pray God, may be with all possible speed. I doubt not but that his Majesty will take to his consideration their services, and what hath been promised to them by the Lord-Lieutenant yielded to by his Majesty, with other advantages. I need not give you the trouble of any relation of mine, touching the state of this kingdom; for by the Lord-Lieutenant's dispatches, and by the relation of Sir James Preston, you will know more than I can advertise you. Notwithstanding, I can assure you I never could discover more resolution, more affection, and more emulation among all the considerable persons of this kingdom, to expose their lives and fortunes to restore his Majesty, and be revenged on the most brutish actors of so great and barbarous a villainy and parricide committed on so just and pious a king.

---

* Probably Sir Edward Nicholas.

As for mine own particular, nothing troubles me more than that I am not in a condition to express mine own zeal to forward his Majesty's service; and, indeed, I have not been backward in any thing that came within the share of my activity, nor never will. I am appointed a Chaplain-General of the armies raised by the Roman Catholics; and I will undertake no lawless excommunications nor groundless censures shall have place in this army, to frighten the soldiers from their allegiance; neither shall any thing which might any way disadvantage the service—which might be occasioned by the malevolent and malignant party, which showed themselves adverse to his Majesty's Government, and may, by their secret plots and undermining, endeavour to practise some foul design—be left undiscovered; for no such thing can be as much as thought of but I shall, some way or other, know it, and shall be a means to have it prevented.

I may give you, also, assurance of a great likelihood of a full and perfect settlement in this kingdom, and that suddenly. We long to see his Majesty here. I pray let nothing be admitted touching a voyage into Scotland; for this is the far more considerable nation, (and so considerable, when you will be here you will wonder how much some are deceived in their opinions of this nation), and have given to the world the far greater testimony of their loyalty. I conclude, wishing you all happiness, and that God may be pleased to send his Majesty safe into this kingdom, which will ever be the continual prayer of, Sir,

Your most affectionate humble servant,

THOMAS TALBOT.

Waterford, June 6th, 1649.

ANONYMOUS.

SIR,

I OWE you an account of each minute's stay in this place: and if my memory had not failed me in the most material part of your direction, it had not been omitted. I am sure my wishes can contribute nothing to you beyond what you do enjoy, you have so great an advantage already in the change of air. It will be of much satisfaction to me to receive the tidings of your welfare, and how, and by what name, and to what place, I am to continue my address to you. All considerations since you left us have been upon the Irish expedition. This inexhaustible magazine hath furnished out great store of provisions, great sums of money, plate, furniture, and other things suitable to the state of a Lord-Lieutenant, whose greatest want is ships for the transportation of his men, who this week rendezvous at Milford, though it be doubted that the bad success of Colonel Monk and Owen Roe O'Neale may alter his councils. Dundalk and Carlingford being both delivered, in the former was found a great magazine of clothes, and a large proportion of powder, which was conceived to be very acceptable to that party. Owen Roe received the defeat upon his drawing up to Monk's relief, whose men forsaking him, and to the number of 500 foot and horse coming in to my Lord Inchiqueene, who performed this service, he only conditioned for his own freedom to come for England, and is since gone to give an account of this business to the Lord-Lieutenant; and his disaster at this season makes a great impression in the well affected, those parts lying upon the Scots' quarters, being at, as it is more than probably conceived, the places pretended for their landing, where they had some back and countenance.

Here hath been some stories about the delivery of the Isle of Man, but not believed.

July 30*th*, 1649.

THOMAS WHITE TO ———.*

My dear Friend,

This is the second I have adventured to you, partly out of an impatience to be informed of your safe arrival, and then to beg a line from you how and to what place I am to continue my address to you; but you want not a just and warrantable excuse for any neglect in this kind — only remember that you are not allowed your parole above a month. I may not divert your thoughts from your present contemplations, I should else tell you what a sensible miss Fleet-street hath of you, and then relate the great score of services that are given me in charge. Be assured that nothing can lessen the esteem of your friends, which hath so pure a foundation as your own virtue. But my present business is to tell you how strangely we are at this minute confounded with variety of stories, touching the relief of Dublin with men and ammunition. That some foot and horse were shipped for that service is certain, but of their safe landing or reception into the town is only grounded upon report; the contrary being more probable; in being conjectured they were designed for Dundalk, and shipped before the taking of it was known; these, joining with Monk and Owen O'Neale, might have made a considerable diversion, whilst Cromwell's forces made good their footing in some other parts of that kingdom; but being deceived in their design, they were, as it is believed, put upon a desperate hazard to land; and that, before their gaining of the town, they were met, and many cut off; but for this I find little warrant but conjecture, by application of circumstances. But the defeat given Owen O'Neale, and the taking of Dundalk with some hundreds of barrels of powder, 3000 suits, and several other provisions proportionable, you may build upon. The defeat of O'Neale's party was performed with 300 horse, under the command of Colonel M. Trevor, against 1200 foot and 300 horse; he is since made Governor of that town (Carlingford) and the county of Lowth, an excellent horse officer, and in election to be Lieutenant-General of the Lord of Ormond's horse. Monk, soon after his arrival at Chester, went to the Lord-Lieutenant to Milford, where most of the forces are designed to be shipped, if his coming alter not their course and counsels. Vast quantities of money are sent hence daily with great convoys, and all designed for that expedition. The consults at home produce little of moment; great debates, and wise oppositions upon the matter of adjourning, which will not yet be carried. The present business is of putting a test or oath upon the clergy first; and then all officers, for conformity to the present government. The breach of the treaty, when given out to be so hopeful, hath struck a great damp on some, and raised the confidence of the men in power. The affairs of Scotland are best understood with you; it will require a belief above sense to expect any good thence. Let me bespeak your pardon for this haste, which must only justify me; and then let me subscribe myself,

---

* These letters of Mr. White's were probably addressed to Sir Richard Browne.

Your faithful friend and servant,

THO. WHITE.

Temple Bar, August 2nd, 1649.

Be pleased to entertain this gentleman's acquaintance; and if you meet with anything material to be known, that you will communicate to him.

THOMAS WHITE TO ——.

SIR,

IT is no small satisfaction to me to find by yours of the 21st, that mine are come to your hands; having not then received any direction from you for my address, you have been so just to me in your returns, that you may challenge this as a debt; and I am resolved not to clear scores with you whilst I do continue my present station. I am sure that in my last I summed in short to you the story of the grand misfortune before Dublin; it may be some allay to it to tell you some reason for it, which in particular is alleged to be the escape of a town trumpeter from the camp, who encouraged the party to pursue the sally, when their business was no more than to beat up a new guard. It is agreed on all hands that 3000 were killed upon the place, and 1500 taken prisoners; and it is as certain that a considerable part of the army marched off entire and unbroken; the great loss fell upon Inchequeene's foot. Jones's horse were so broken in the business, as unabled to make the best advantage of their victory, which hath given my Lord of Ormond opportunity to rally, and by addition of his recruits grow into such a body as to be in condition to look upon the town again, which is the faith of the sanguine men he cannot want for numbers. Owen Roe O'Neale, the root of all this mischief, being immediately before this business come in, who endeavouring to make some disturbance in Munster, occasioned Inchequeene's drawing off with a body of horse, which was missed in the day of action. You know that what comes thence passes one way which puts us upon conjectures, and that begets variety of stories. Here they are very confident of the relief of Londonderry; and at this whole series of misfortune the Presbyter seems pleased, not so much out of kindness to the prevalent party, as a judgment he makes of a necessity now put upon our chief of a compliance with the brethren, with whom his interest is so involved, as he is not to be wrought to join with any third; which is sufficiently observed by his declaring against Ormond and his adherents, wherein Ards and Irish Scot are concerned. But if 246 do succeed, he will *non novi vos;* and I may tell you he hath more than ordinary odds—they think they have little more to do than share stakes, which seems by the Lieut.-General Cromwell sending for his wife to meet him at Dublin, himself being ready to be shipped after many of his men. His business is looked upon as done to his hand, which puts them upon thoughts of magnificent entertainments suitable to his present quality and place, and that hath caused such preparation of plate, furniture, and other regalias. Jones's service is recompensed with 1000*l.* per annum. But I have dwelt too long upon this story, and you must cover my infirmity; for to deal truly with you, it hath made a very great impression in me; though I am not of their feeble faith whose confidence ebbs and flows according to accidents and events of fortune. You will find our pretended humility turned to arrogance, for now we stick not to give out, 7, 37, 27, 7, 1, 2, 31, 3, 5, 35, 1, 29, 31, 35, 1, 29, 5, 35, 6, 7, 31, 1, 30, 2, 50, 6, 34, 27, 37, 37, 13, 30, 27, 5, 31, 7, 2, 6, 34, 31, 37, 7, 31, 5, 7, 34, 31, 71, 36, 35, 1, 33, 26. From them I may improve this way upon practice, but you see by this we now resolve to stick at nothing. I shall be able to clear some doubts to you by my next, being now a little surprised. Your good opinion must justify me, which by all acts of friendship and civility I shall ever study to preserve. I have something to say in answer to some particulars in yours; be it only remembered you are not accountable to yourselves alone for what you do; and therefore such as are obnoxious to the vulgar opinion (though perhaps otherwise innocent) may not be so proper for the new model, and all that are qualified for employment *non possunt magnam conquere fortunam;* but I neither pretend to the morals or politics at this time, being in some hazard to lose the post. If my noble friend the knight be upon the place, you are to advocate for me to him. I cannot excuse myself without believing him to be so good a husband as to be at Calais. Sir G. T. is your faithful servant; is constant to the old quarters of our friends. I put myself upon your mercy, for this hasty scribbling will need. Adieu to the next, and ever yours,

THOMAS WHITE.

I cannot meet with anything of that kind you mention; only I send you the close of one letter, which I doubt is not of that kind you seem to intend:

"That no prince in Christendom shall dare to shelter the King."

Aug. 16, 1649.

THOMAS WHITE TO ———.

SIR,

SINCE the receipt of yours of the 21st, I summed up the late disaster before Dublin in one from me to you, which I conceive may prove so hard of digestion, that I have not heard from you by this return; your own judgment will upon scrutiny tell you the great change that will be wrought by it, as well to counsel as action. Some disorder discovered in the camp upon the sally encouraged the besieged to attempt it. The report both of the prisoners and the slain lessens, and some are here so incredulous as to affirm the town to be still besieged, which I conceive not to be very probable, now that Cromwell's army is at sea since the 14th of this month, there being then in readiness to the number of 130 sail, for whom the wind hath served fair. If this blow had not come so seasonably they had fallen short of their numbers, so little stomach they seemed to have to this expedition; now it passes for no more than reaping the fruits of other men's labours. Colonel Jones is rewarded by the gift of 1500*l.* per annum out of confiscated estates, whereof one Bates' estate, in the province of Leinster, becomes to be a part. 7, 34, 315, 50, 2, 1, 31, 11, 9, 35, 37, 37, 30, 31, 37, 3, 72, 7, 34, 31, 5, in their work, by making purchase 2, 32, 6, 250, 31, 2, 32, 7, 34, 31, 33, 2, 2, 30, 73, 7, 2, 9, 1, 31, 6, 35, 1, 50, 2, 8, 1, 6, 7, 5, 26, as it is supected, upon no light grounds. If the course lie for Dublin, then have at the Scot in the north, who are looked upon as a colony, fit to be extirpated or transplanted, having little more than possession to fortify their title to the place. This hath made such an impression on the Lord of the Ards, that we hear he is returned and resolved to join, and making good his footing by joining with his countrymen. 173 was never so likely to be 3, 5, 2, 8, 35, 29, 35, 27, 7, 31, 30, 26, if they have not the grace to apprehend their concern in time. We hear of some message sent from Scotland to the King since this defeat, which, to speak to you in the Newcastle phrase, as it was written, put them into such a damp, as if they had been surprised by one in a coal-pit, which some conceive will put them upon you upon reasonable terms, and it is feared that, having thrown out at this stake, you may hearken to them; yet we go as far as we can, for discontenting and disobliging our friends, to satisfy that party. 95, 26, and a general pardon is to pass, in order to a compliance that way. We begin to divide and share stakes apace. The General is, upon Friday next, to have 4000*l.* per annum of the Duke of Buckingham's estate conferred upon him, and Colonel Martin 1000*l.* I must for this time close with an account of your friend's health and welfare, reserving you to this parcel of Mr. Mayes' poetry. If it be answered, that may occasion a reply, but none here hath as yet undertaken it.

I am, your faithful servant,

THO. WHITE.

In my next you will be very like to hear of Cromwell landing.

August 20*th*, 1649.

THOMAS WHITE TO ———.

SIR,

OUR stock is grown so low that it will scarce keep up the trade of writing, our business being of two sorts; either the driving on the several ways of money, as that we owe much of our success to, or the right manage of the military power, which is found the more difficult part, so apt the soldiery are to be tainted with the levelling principles, wherein this place abounds so much, that considerations are taken at present to draw off the remaining parts of the army to a further distance, and supplying that force by an auxiliary of persons chosen, whose arms are to be provided by the abler sort, and carried by those as the more confiding. Some there are who conceive this remove to proceed from a necessity of further supplies for Ireland, the Lord of Ormond having rallied himself into a condition to face Dublin, though not to renew the siege. Of Ireton, and his attempts, or success, in Munster, we know nothing. Youghall was the place designed, but believed he was disappointed, if not deceived of his bargain, by one Peircy Smith the Governor, an officer of the Lord Inchiquin's. Some further discourse we have of an encounter at sea upon that coast with loss to our friends. The Scots about Londonderry have played their game as they used to do, and been first to quit the siege, to which Owen O'Neale contributed much by a cessation made with the Coots, which we (now having served our turn) do declare scandalous, and absolutely disclaim; but since our last success, both there and at Dublin, we have this day a whispering of some backblow, which is no way improbable, for that Colonel Jones his forwardness engaged him too soon upon Tredaith before Ormond's army were sufficiently broken, who it seems attacked them in the rear before they could recover Dublin; but my next will give you more certainty. That which most imports your knowledge is the sense we have here of your prohibiting the importation of our cloth, which we so far stomach that we intend to quit scores with you by doing the like to your French wines. If this should end in a breach, it might very much hinder the settling of a very hopeful commonwealth. We still fear that the Scots, bating much of their high demands, and not involving the interest of England, or putting conditions upon you in reference to their party here, will be a strong motive to draw you to an agreement with them, which these friends, which are numerous effectually in the maritime towns, do very much gape, as giving them an opportunity to regain their power; for they see small hopes of any compliance from this way, there being a resolution of giving a general liberty to any man of parts to exercise the ministry, though they have not the seal of ordination. And then the abolition of tithes is no way scrupled, which makes the Presbytery very keen and bold in his language, and very vehement for an uniting with their brethren, which is the only way of deliverance they propose to themselves; but I know this string is not to be touched—it will jar so much in some ears with you, and render those obnoxious that incline to that sense, and malice will be a rule when they have forfeited their reason. Where monarchy takes root, it soon grows to afford a shelter against sun and storms. We know there is one condition to keep you from writing, which here is called self-interest; but we are to be wise *in alienâ republicâ*. You have that within you that in all states and conditions will make you happy, which I desire may still receive new addition. I will not complain that I have not heard from you these four returns; and I doubt I may by my absence fail you the next, but never to approve myself,

Your most faithful and affectionate,

THOMAS WHITE.

Aug. 27, 1649.

THOMAS WHITE TO ———.

SIR,

THE receipt of yours, both of the 1st and 4th, were by my former acknowledged, which afford so much of satisfaction, that I shall never balance the account. I must be still your debtor, what return soever I make. I find you are not planet-struck. I hope that unlucky affect is now over: it was only to put us in mind we were mortal,—our seeming success made us so apt to forget it. There is much life remaining in that game of Ireland, as may by several circumstances be collected. When a force of 4000 horse is acknowledged, that goes far to the making of a good army. No matter of action as yet owned, and that attributed to their ill passage and slender provision, having continued above ten days at sea. My former mentioned a recruit of 6000 sent for, intended to be placed into such garrisons as shall be taken, for that must be but a winter work. You are not to expect much from that coast, orders being given against all private communication by letters.

I presume you will hear of a late proclamation, touching the importation of French wines. We expect to understand how you do resent it, which will not be much valued; for if 9, 31, 31, 30, 2, 31, 2, 8, 5, 28, 8, 6, 31, 1, 31, 6, 26, in 133, 236, 6, 2, 8, 37, 30, 35, 31, 5, 11, 74, say 11, 2, 8, 5, 7, 8, 5, 1, 31, will be 1, 31, 10, 7, 72, to be 6, 9, 27, 37, 2, 9, 31, 30, which is to be seasonably thought upon. In the mean time, all courses are to be put in practice, that make for the present power, so far as engagements to be taken from all persons in trust and office for their conformity, which as it is relished will come in course to others.

We hear of a message come, 238, 73, 37, that prays an assistance of foot and horse, upon apprehension of some fears from malignants, but yet do press for a proceeding against all such as have acted against the Covenant, which makes the meaning to be very mystical to such as understand the different inclinations, which agree only in this that, 236, 3, 27, 3, 35, 6, 7, 33, 232, 29, 34, 27, 8, 27, 37, 35, 31, 5, 71, are the sole 3, 31, 5, 6, 2, 1, 6, to be confounded. Here we talk of Rupert being at liberty by the advantage of these boisterous winds; and some losses are complained of. The most welcome tidings to you will be the welfare of your friends, who have entertained themselves with high solace in their several progresses. You enjoy more in yourself than all that can signify. I hear that you have been written to;

but nothing hath passed my hands but per packet, which I hope you received. Adieu to the next, and

Ever yours faithfully,

THO. WHITE.

September 6th, 1649.

THOMAS WHITE TO ———.

SIR,

BE pleased to receive my acknowledgment of your last, which hath been some motive to the inclosed; all this omission having proceeded from the want of convenience. I am sure your absence loses you nothing in the estimation of your friends, so frequent mention I daily meet with to your advantage, in which number I am enjoined by the honourable widow to acknowledge the favour of your letter. They begin to consider of their winter quarters. Full satisfaction will be made you. This last week, with the discourse of a new motion of the levelling party, the scene was Oxford: the active and vigilant people of the times choked it in the conception. It had so short a being and continuance, that divers are persuaded there was nothing of earnest in it. That will be cleared if any execution follow upon the prime actors, who are in custody. Some are induced to believe it was meant only to train on another party, whose fingers are sufficiently burnt already. There is a spirit reigns amongst those people that will never be conjured down, though great endeavours are used to sweeten J. Lillborne; and he begins to hearken, which is more than half the conquest. Their petty successes serve to confirm us in our ways. We expect greater countenance from Spain than we have as yet found from any other kingdom, it being confidently affirmed that an ambassador is to come thence to conclude a league, offensive and defensive, with our estate, and before the prohibition of French wines be revoked. The like must move from you: it must be composed by a negociation, which cannot be without owning our state. Since the army drew into the field, we know nothing of action. Tredaith must first be looked, which it seems is well provided for the time. The clearing of the North is the first in intention, the better to interrupt any correspondence between the two nations, it being yet believed that the interest or pretence of the Covenant will not hinder a composure with the King, if his affairs should proceed in Ireland. Our General, in reducing of the old regiments there, hath much discontented the old soldier, which in time may have an ill consequence, if the cause prove what is alleged, that they were not to be trusted. Strong apprehensions of invasion in Scotland, which hath occasioned the sending for men to the borders, to be at hand, if occasion do require. The merchant is grown malcontent upon the late tidings from Russia, whose Emperor hath prohibited all commerce with the subjects of this State, as a people of such high guilt as unfit to mingle with his: he hath allowed them time to get in their debts. I must for this time bate you the residue, having not allowed myself time in anything within my power. I shall ever appear

Your most faithful servant,

Tho. White.

September 13*th*, 1649.

THOMAS WHITE TO ———.

My dear Friend,

Your last being of the 15th, together with one other of the 1st, came the same instant to my hands, which I confess have put me very far upon your account, as well for the number as weight, being so exact in relation of particulars, which would not have found faith here if it had had not your stamp, for here they are possessed with an opinion that it is impossible to compose your intestine troubles, or to prevent thorough ruptures; but these late attempts not succeeding will soon clear that doubt. However, we conceive you will have so much business of your own as will keep you from disturbing your neighbours. Though you begin the quarrel with us at sea, we mean very suddenly to quit scores with you, there being a resolution taken to grant out letters of marque to make ourselves savers of you for the losses already sustained, and for those ships of yours or Rupert's that ply the Straits' mouth. Ten very good sail are from hence designed to watch your course, there being a far greater number to be shortly in readiness to scour the neighbouring seas, there being a necessity on your part to keep a strong fleet in regard of the great scarcity of provision that is in Ireland, which occasions the transporting of so much from hence; but that defect will be supplied by our late successes in Ireland, whereof this inclosed being the last that is made public, and being from the chief hand there, will give you a taste. I would have sent you more, but for swelling this into too great a bulk. Ormond's resolution or meaning cannot be discovered, unless he intend to wear out our force with winter sieges, and then at his own time take advantage of our weakness, for by several letters it is written that his army is numerous; his delay may cost him dear if he mean fighting, for our recruits advance apace, the General's second son being lately gone hence with a regiment of horse, and great numbers of foot are already as far as Chester; and at this rate do we wear out this winter, only find out some employment by turning all that is vendible of the late King's into ready money, finding out new ways of improving the excise, as extending it to men's ease, pleasures and conveniences, as putting it upon coaches, hawks, and dogs, which is pretended a kindness to the gentry, that the high price of their pleasures may exclude the plebeian. Some thrift we pretend to in another kind by crying down the wearing of all gold and silver lace for which a bill is to pass. We would give the Scot no temptation to trouble us again, who we fear will not be confined to their own wilderness. His brother Presbyter expects still his deliverance that way, and so great a suspicion there is of a compliance, that one Penruddock, that came lately from Holland, is imprisoned upon a suspicion of being employed to negociate with that party, but all fear from thence is over if the King comply not, wherein it seems you as well as many others here are unsatisfied; all courtship and application is made to them to gain them; the worst title that Cromwell's letter gives them are his angry friends. I find you understand the true reason of this intermission, your chief was put into a cold sweat, and your lawyer to his distinction touching the grand scruple by your awaking a sleeping conscience; if you do not right us, you will scarce believe us to be such creatures as you left us; I am sure nothing can make me lose your service. I hope, I shall keep myself still in a capacity to be so owned. This stopping of letters will be like to take off much from your trouble, especially since Penruddock's restraint. Your account of the affairs of Paris was very exact, and such narratives without application can carry no prejudice, though it fall into the hands of the most rigid; nothing can be inferred from bare relations, that can by any construction be looked upon as design. I leave you still to the freedom of your own judgment, only your chief engaged me to add this gentle caution. Preserve me ever in your esteem and friendship, which is extremely valued by your faithful servant,

THO. WHITE.

October 13*th*, 1649.

THOMAS WHITE TO ———.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I HAVE in one of the last week given you an account of myself, that here I am to be found to become your further trouble at the old rate, for I confess myself to be upon your score. We are persuaded you may have some thoughts this way, and that you may have motives to it even from the place where you are. I assure you, so great are the desires of your friends to have their share of you, that your quarters are provided, and you cannot want accommodation to your own heart's content. I do not doubt your lady's inclination, who will find the respect of many friends to welcome her. You will find it a winter well spent; and at spring may take new considerations. This week we expect your chief and his whole sequela in town: to welcome them I should be glad to receive something from your own hand. We are here very full of some late tidings come from Scotland, that mention the landing of Colonel King with some forces, that are like to make great change there, there being discerned an inclination, in a great party, to join with them; besides another report, as if the body of that kingdom intended an invasion upon us. Nothing so frequently talked of as an agreement with their King, to whom it is conceived that a safe conduct is sent, though we cannot learn that their commissioners are as yet gone any further than Holland, where Culpepper still remains. It is certain some more than ordinary apprehensions we have here of troubles from Scotland. I presume you hear how unsettled things appear to grow in Holland, upon the late resolution taken by the States Provincials to disband the foreign soldiers; which order is disputed by the Prince of Orange. Colonel Cromwell hath been employed to transact the business between both parties. From Ireland we have little since the taking of Wexford. Some service performed in the north against Venables by Sir George Monroe and Trevor; that Belfast is taken by them, and a considerable party cut off. What resolution Owen Roe hath taken up we cannot certainly learn. We hear the treaty between you and Spain is like to be set on foot again by the mediation of the Pope and Venetians. This is by way of quære to you, as also how the domestic troubles are allayed. We must be made happy in a sight of you, and then to tell you really there is no one living is more your servant than

T. W.

My last contained a letter desired to send to ——.

November 5th, 1649.

THOMAS WHITE TO ———.

SIR,

I AM very much satisfied to find that mine have found a clear passage to you. Though the materials are not the same, I am glad to find you pleased to entertain the whole trouble. I differ not from the opinion signified to you in my last, touching your inclination to confer a right on us; there are several conveniences to invite you to it. You know best how to compute the expense and trouble of such a journey; but my desires must not carry me to your prejudice, who so well understand the compass of your own affairs, by the trial you have had of us. You know the worst; and at the same rate you are still to find us, if you come. The scope of this is, to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 13th. We are grown so barren, that there is not so much as a stock to fill up this paper. Our last tidings from Ireland were of Cromwell being before Duncannon, where he hath continued for ten days. You know they use not here to speak diffidently of their own success; a strong place it is, and commanded by Preston, who hath given a good account of a weaker, Ghinop-house. The disease of the country begins to work in the conquering army, so that the numbers do daily lessen. Some conceive a strong inclination in Cromwell to give us here a visit. Horton, a considerable officer of his, is lately dead there. We hear the Scots have had very ill luck at Coleraine, though Belfast and Lisnegarey were both recovered and burnt. We are pleased to find the truth of Mr. Trevor's success from you, he having marched thirty miles to perform that service. Here is much industry and care for clothes and recruits; and pay they cannot want, whilst so many Milves are in motion. The present business is the choice of new sheriffs, which we are not much concerned to inquire after. They have it also under consideration to proceed to the trial of Judge Jenkins, Sir Jo. Stowell, and William Legg, but nothing certainly determined. Much expectation of what will be the issue of these animosities in Holland; the surfeit of peace and plenty makes those people so queasy stomached, as now to affect a new diet. We hear of Prince Rupert being at sea with six sail: this hath not been confirmed by any matter of action. Sir, if you have anything to say to your chief, you know the next week where to find him. If my request be not improper, I desire you will communicate to me a calculation of your young master's nativity, for I make no question but have met with it, and the best skilled in that art are planted in your clime. Yours was delivered to the King. I presume to beg your trouble of the inclosed, which is occasioned by want of other means of conveyance. I shall add no more, but that I am most faithfully,

Your very affectionate servant,

THO. WHITE.

November 9th, 1649.

THOMAS WHITE TO ———

SIR,

SINCE my return I only received one letter from you, which I do not instance to increase your trouble, only I gain a satisfaction to myself and your friends by it, whose constant inquiry of you doth very much evidence the esteem and value they hold of you, who seemed not a little pleased with the hopes of your presence; it is possible since my persuasion, you may meet with some matters of discouragement from a resolution taken to make this new subscription to the present way and government to be pressed generally; if it be so pursued and prosecuted, you will in that but take your fortune with your many other friends. The clergy do stumble at it, and the universities have also manifested an averseness to it; but the logic of the sword that gives the law will be obeyed at long running. Being tendered to the assembly they took time of consideration, which is all the progress of that business, bating that the gown-men stuck not at it. All the present care is taken for the hastening of forces over into Ireland, which are unfortunately called for, and hastened; for since the conjunction of Ormond and O'Neale, Cromwell begins to have some apprehensions that he must suddenly fight to maintain his new conquests, which he professeth he will not decline, though his numbers fall far short of his enemies, which daily grow less by the country disease, besides some losses sustained by the siege of Duncannon, which hath and is like to find them picking work. Youghall and Cork they affirm to be both declared for them, and their head quarters to be at Ross; so that considering the season, they have done much of their business in a short time, and yet, they may yet find too much for them to do. Here is some speech of their besieging Kilkenny. The apprehensions we have of more troubles from Scotland grow still greater, and here is nothing more believed and expected than that there will be an agreement with their King, their commissioners having been long since with him; but the success of these negociations must be expected from you. I send you the enclosed for the novelty of it, being the intended frontispiece of a book which was surprised in the press. You need no comment upon it when you examine it. Your friends enjoy perfect health, and have already had some seasoning of the town. I expect in your next to know something of your inclination this winter. I put some trouble upon you to convey a few lines from me to one Mr. Newton, which I hope came safe to your hands. I shall not add to it by detaining you longer than to subscribe myself

Your most faithful servant,
THO. WHITE.*

November 15th, 1649.

The penury to which some of the Church dignitaries were reduced by the late convulsions, is pathetically illustrated in an appeal from Bishop Goodman to the civic authorities of Gloucester. The See was cut down to beggary.

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL MR. MAYOR AND THE ALDERMEN OF GLOUCESTER.

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL,

TWENTY-FIVE years are now past since first I became your neighbour, in which time I have received many tokens and kindnesses from you, and I dare boldly say, not any city and bishop in England did live and accord more lovingly and brotherly together than we did; yet by the practice of some few (not a fiftieth part of your city, though they used the name of the city,) a petition was put up against me this Parliament (the like was not done by any other city against their bishop), and much money spent in prosecution thereof. Some things, God knows, were untrue; but if all had been confessed, yet they did not amount to the height of an accusation, nor were the faults punishable by any law, only they might argue some indiscretion. In regard hereof, seeing I was now become a petitioner to the Parliament, it was necessary that I should desire, not your certificate (for that had been a disparagement to the credit of my place and calling), but that you should write to your citizens in Parliament, to further my petition, whereby might appear the good correspondence ever held between us; and this very freely and lovingly you did, for which I return you many thanks, and if ever God shall enable me, I will requite it. Now I thought fit to give you an account of the business truly, Mr. Speaker, your Recorder and his son did very much respect your recommendation, and I pray return them many thanks for me, and desire their continuance of their favour. But when I consider you have better deserved of the Parliament than any city in England, not only for the enduring of a great siege, but indeed the turning of the wheel for ever after the Parliament's forces prevailed, which before they did not; if now you should recommend my petition immediately to the Parliament, it cannot be ill taken, but rather it would serve to renew the memory of what is past; and herein you shall do not only according to the former practice and precedent in law (as this bearer will inform you), but likewise observe your old custom; for no city hath been more kind to their Bishops, to their lecturers, and to their widows, than you have ever been. The memory of Mr. Prior, our prebendary, and his wife, can testify it. If herein I may prevail, you shall still more and more oblige me.

---

* These letters are from Mr. Bentley's Collection.

And now I shall make a further motion unto you, which, God knows, I do not with any intent to put you to the least charge, much less to put you in mind what I have done; but I do it only out of necessity, for as the case now stands with me, I live upon selling one thing after another, only to buy me bread. You may remember that I settled upon your hospital of St. Bartholomew the perpetual patronage of the parsonage of Keinerton, worth nearly 200*l.* per annum. Mr. H——— now enjoys it, by your presentation. It was settled with this condition:—That if any descended from my grandfather were capable thereof, he should be presented, otherwise it should go to the Mayor's son, or to the aldermen or citizens, in their seniority, which might be a little encouragement put them to breed their sons scholars. Now my desire is, that we might refer ourselves to some skilful purchaser, or let him set down a rate what it might be worth, to put out that clause of my grandfather's issue, and that it may be immediately settled upon the sons of citizens; and let him set down any reasonable rate between us, and it shall be accepted. Truly, the purchase did cost me above 1000 marks. And whereas I know that your city is not in case to purchase, for your payments are great, your trading is dead, the poor lie heavy upon you, &c., yet I shall expect no more than may be well paid out of the rents of the Hospital, and to be yearly paid as an annuity for term of my life, being now sixty-eight years aged, and you shall have it at an easy purchase. Or, if this motion do not please, if then I might know at what price you do estimate your own right, I should see whether I could procure a friend to lay out so much money, that I might sell the whole, and thereby make him satisfaction. Thus desiring you to take these things into consideration, that I may receive your answer, in my daily prayers beseeching God to bless the city and county of Gloucester, I rest,

Your loving friend and servant,

GODFR. GOODMAN.*

November 23rd, 1649.

Alderman Atkin, who will be remembered by former appeals to his constituents at Norwich, is still in Parliament, and doing what he can to deserve a continuance of their favours.

MR. THOMAS ATKIN TO THE MAYOR OF NORWICH.

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL,

MY due respects remembered unto you and all your brethren. Your letter of the 24th dicto I have received, and understand that the money due to the army until the 25th of December, is or will be ready when it is called for. I pray you hasten it all up, it will not come before it be welcome; and for that assessment from the 25th of this month for next three months, I pray you be mindful of it, lest free quarter come amongst you. I shall further the uniting of parishes what I can. We had a hearing this afternoon at committee of plundered ministers, and part of the prepared act was read; and when the parishes were named to be knit together, there was no church named for the people to meet in. Some reasons were given by some of your city, but not approved of; so we shall have a hearing again to-morrow afternoon. I have got an order for uniting the parishes in the city of Gloucester, which we shall make use of. I will not forget Christ Church; and I am not a little troubled that the business of the weavering trade is not yet passed. I know it is of great concernment to have something done in it. As for the money upon the tickets, so soon as the 1st of January is past, I will see a return be made by the Committee of Indemnity, as was appointed by the House. I sent you the order, and I being in the House at all the debate, wrote you the sense; and if others send up all tickets of rich and poor, there will be a difference made here, and perhaps some poor indeed may suffer in it. I want a good partner to carry on your business, and so I take leave, and rest, your worship's to command,

---

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

THO. ATKIN.

I send herein the latest news from Ireland. God hath done wonderful things there, to admiration. Blessed be His name.

Laus Deo: London, December 27th, 1649.

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL JOHN BAYLEY, ESQ.,
MAYOR OF NORWICH.

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL,

MY due respects remembered. Your letter of the 7th dicto I have received. No news, since my last, from Scotland: they are there settling themselves in garrisons for a while; and the Parliament being desirous to have a full relation of the condition of that place, upon a full debate in the House, last Tuesday, that the Lord-General Cromwell should come over to the service of the House, and before mid March to return thither again. God send him well hither and thither again. I shall not be wanting here to further the City business, both for Church and weaving trade. A committee is appointed by the Committee for Plundered

Ministers, to consider of the City petition, and the desires about the Union, which I shall further the speeding of it, and also that for the trade of weaving, which I cannot yet get reported to the House, although I have not been wanting to do my utmost in it. I send you here inclosed the Act for Subscribing to the Engagement. Yesterday it was agreed to in the House, that the number of the new representatives shall not exceed 400 persons—there have been about 503; in Cornwall have been about 40; and I think 4 will be thought too many; and the like in some such remote places. The further debate upon it is put off till next Wednesday; and so I take leave, and rest

Your Worship's to serve,

THO. ATKIN.

Do write. The engagement sent down is (————) and then I expect some direction about the taking it.

Laus Deo: London, January 10*th*, 1649, [*N.S.* 1650.]

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL JOHN BAYLEY, ESQ.,
MAYOR OF NORWICH.

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL,

My due respects remembered to you and Mr. Newelect. You may please to understand I have received your letter of the 27th dicto; and since then I have delivered the paper of the revenue of the hospital to the chairman of the Committee of the Army, as Mr. Speaker did this day advise me. I have delivered the account of the horse to Mr. Broad, who gave me the inclosed ordinances, for you to refuse, and to consider whether your City is interested in any of them. Mr. Broad doth keep the account, and saith he will take care that the City shall have no wrong when a dividend shall be made. I writ you formerly that the Committee of the Army told me they could order nothing concerning the difference between you and Thorpe. Order was given that the Council of State should take care to send the Act for the Sabbath, and that for the day of humiliation, to each sheriff, to be dispersed abroad, which, I am told, is done already. There is very good news from Scotland. The Lord-General of Ireland is landed in England, and expected here within few days. Great differences in Scotland. On the 21st of this month, Montrose was put to death in Scotland. And so I take leave, and rest

Your Worship's to command,

Tho. Atkin.*

Laus Deo: London, May 30th, 1650.

More political gossip, in letters to the British Resident in Paris, is supplied from the same source to which we are indebted for the rest of our gleanings from Sir Richard Browne's correspondence.

THOMAS WHITE TO SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

My dear Friend,

Yours of the 22nd I received, which makes me more your debtor than I have stock to pay, unless the satisfaction your nearest friends receive by you may pass in the account, wherein you do in part repair the loss we have of the best piece of our conversation: we still keep up that staple, though not at the old rate. The more near approach of the spring gives assurance of fresh troubles. The fact will not be confined to his own country; there pulpits are at work, and England must be the scene to play the second part: ours here are not backward to promote their interests according to the inclination of the several parties; the Independent to preserve his present power, and the Presbyterian to gain the ground he hath lost. It becomes admitted here that their King and they are agreed, and that Mountrose, his party is to be comprised, which some considering people cannot give any faith unto; but that rather looks as if it were given out to disjoin the parties here from those in that kingdom, the interests being so inconsistent. The preparations now in Scotland do put us upon the like considerations here, and is very like to occasion us to strike the first blow, and so be beforehand. Our grand confidence is in our great fleet, which is like to require many hands, and much more money than I doubt we are at present provided of. Some discourse we have here as if General Cromwell had received some loss about the 12th of this month, but nothing of this is publicly owned. His own coming over will cheer these doubts, though as yet we have no certainty of that; but for his welcome the Parliament have voted and conferred all the Earl of Pembroke's places and offices upon him. He was the last week surprised by a violent fever, under which he languished for some few days, and died: his successor in the House of Commons is not yet designed. We have been full of debates touching a new representative; but these alarms from Scotland will be like to put us off those resolutions. The Spanish Ambassador is leaving us. Some mistake there was, whereby he becomes a little disgusted. Where I fall short I must beg a further day, there being none more desirous to you than

---

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

THOS. WHITE.

January 27th, 1649, [*N.S.* 1650.]

——— TO SIR R. BROWNE.

SIR,

YOURS of the 15th was received to the very great great satisfaction of your friends, and as a special engagement upon your servant, who is not a little troubled that he can return you nothing suitable to so full and judicious an account, which is more acceptable to us, many of the particulars having been since confirmed from other hands. I did not find your divisions at Paris so great as they are here apprehended. The animosities of particular persons will not certainly set the whole frame on fire, if you needs must be falling out with us (as you have already begun the quarrel). Your divisions give us a confidence: we shall be able to watch you; though the truth is, ours at home begin to be already too visible, which will be soon discerned upon General Cromwell's arrival, who is sent for, and daily expected, though it may fall out unseasonably, as tending to a great discouragement of our army, which is reduced to a very weak condition. There is a work here of greater necessity, which is the quieting of some troubled spirits, who grow mutinous against the present power, and must be crushed in the shell. The choice of a new representative and a new council of state is the object of their present design. Some who take themselves fit to govern are unwilling to obey, and that may be the main ground of their quarrel: besides, another party is much stumbled with this engagement; since it became to be generally imposed, they look upon it as a snare. And though it be declared that the obligation is to continue no longer than this power, yet that satisfies not those who are persuaded that the least deviation from it must be triable by a council of war, which is matter of terror to such as have been under the rule and obedience of known laws. Such as are out of office have been of consideration to the 20th of April. Here are strong apprehensions of the King's agreement with the Presbyterian sect, though the terms proposed be as high and rigid as they have formerly proposed. Whatever may happen, we provide against the worst, there being no less than 80 sail designed for the next summer's fleet, and 8000 men to man them. There is it at present 12 sail in readiness for the Straits to find out Rupert and his 'complices, whose doings, and the piracy committed by the French, is like to make a rupture upon our exchange, for the losses by them were great. Since the loss of Carrickfergus we have not heard anything of Ireland: there are ways under consideration for the carrying on of that work at a lesser charge. The loss of Lieutenant-General Jones makes a great impression. We have not many such officers. We can find no guard secure enough against that country disease. My next will inform you of some other particulars, and satisfy you in the present of my Lady Arundel. You have very punctually pursued the desire of your friends, who have enjoined the return of their service to you, to which none is more obliged than

Your most faithful and affectionate,

———.

January 13*th*, 1649, [*N.S.* 1650.]

TO MY HONOURED FRIEND, SIR RICHARD BROWNE, KNIGHT, HIS MAJESTY'S RESIDENT IN FRANCE, AT PARIS.

SIR,

I HAVE received your dispatch by Mr. Progers, for which I give you many thanks; and I assure you it is a great misfortune to me that the troubles of that now unhappy country deprive me of those weekly entertainments I received formerly from you. I shall entreat you, notwithstanding, to let me hear from you as often as you may; and to be pleased, by the return of Mr. Pooley, and of this bearer, Mr. Armourer, to send me a continuation of all that hath passed since your letter of the 23rd of February last, by Mr. Progers. I presume you will have heard of the peace in Ireland before this come to your hands. We yet continue at the Hague, but the King will shortly endeavour to put himself into action for the revenge of the murder of his father, and vindication of his own right; and, by the blessing of God, he hath one kingdom that will serve and assist him in the prosecution of that design. God Almighty will, I hope, give a blessing to his endeavours, and make him a prince as happy as his father was unfortunate. If there be any thing to be done for the renewing of your credentials, I pray let me hear from you concerning it, and be pleased to send me a copy of those you had last, with the style and address the late King then used. I pray present my service to your lady and daughter; and esteem me,

Your most faithful and most humble servant,

ROBT. LONG.

March the 9th, 1649, [*N.S.* 1650.]

The year 1651 opens with a plot to take the lives of two unknown persons lying at this time in the jail of Reading. The Tipstaff of Westminster is importuned, post-haste, to intercede.

FOR MR. WM. LEACHMAN, TIPSTAFF TO THE HIGH COURT
OF JUSTICE, IN THE OLD PALACE OF WESTMINSTER.

SIR,

I DESIRE you to send down a messenger with all speed that I and my friend may clear our consciences, for there is one Thomas Walker, living in Bodmington in the county of Glocester, can discover a plot of a new rising, for there are divers gentlemen and clothiers that have their men and their sons and others in arms, to the number of 100 or more, and special good horses, and all other things necessary for war; and they say the first stirring that shall be, they will be ready and 1000 more that may be found out. And I desire you to take some speedy course for these men, that their horses and arms may be employed in the State's service, for such delinquents do seek to take my life from me, and my friends which are in prison with me; and they say if they do not hang us we shall undo all the country, which if God be pleased to deliver us forth, we will bring in money so much as shall pay a regiment. So with our prayers to God for you, we rest, yours to command till death,

EDIN. WARD,
ROBERT BORGE.

Reading, 23rd *February*, 1650, [*N.S.* 1651.]

Haste, haste, Post haste.

Mr. Leachman, I gave the man 5*s.* and I did promise him 7*s.* more, and I desire you to pay him the 7*s.**

The following letter conveys news from Ireland, where the adherents of the Stuarts kept the Parliamentary troops in a constant state of alarm and activity. In the previous December, Lord Ormond had set sail for France, leaving the Marquis of Clanricarde as Lord Deputy behind him. It will be seen that the army was, as usual, suffering severe privations. The writer of this letter was the Sir Charles Coote whose barbarities are still held in bitter remembrance by the Irish. One of his most savage acts was that of hanging a Catholic bishop whom he had taken prisoner, and to whom he had been indebted for his life a year before.

---

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE, APPOINTED BY AUTHORITY OF THE PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

I NOW received your lordship's of the 21st of January last by Colonel Hill, in answer to a letter of the Commissioners of the Revenue here and mine, concerning some supply of provisions against the spring, by which I find the continued care of the state of their forces, which I most humbly and thankfully acknowledge, assuring your lordship that no endeavours, by the blessing of God, shall be wanting to promote their service; whereof, I hope they shall have a good account this summer. The ship with the clothes long since arrived here, and I assure myself, Colonel Venables hath given you an account of the disaster which befell us by the surprisal of part of the goods, which were intended to that part of your forces about Londonderry, by a perfidious Scot, and neglect of some intrusted, notwithstanding the great care of Colonel Venables for prevention thereof: the want of which necessaries will very much trouble us, yet our confidence of the State's care for our futher supply, gives us encouragement to undergo our present sufferings with the greater cheerfulness. I conceive it necessary to inform your lordship that I have lately received some commands from my Lord Deputy for the prosecution of the service in Connaught about the middle of May at farthest; not only for the reducement of that province, but for the facilitating of his lordship's passage over the Shannon, and more strait besieging of Limerick, which are works of weighty concernment. It's therefore my most humble suit, that as the State have been graciously pleased to give orders for our supply with money and provisions, so that it may be done seasonably, and with such expedition, that the summer's service may not be retarded; whereby we may be enabled to prosecute the service, and to render the State that account of our actions as befits us, and take leave to subscribe myself,

My lord,
Your most humble and faithful servant,
CHA. COOTE.*

Carrickfergus, the 11 *of March*, 1650, [*N.S.* 1651.]

In the letters of the Royalists, the immediate succession of the Prince is invariably recognised. He is every where styled "his Majesty." All the flying rumours—now inflated with hope, now collapsing into despair—are caught up, and thrown off in their fugitive colours by the correspondents of Sir Richard Browne, who was the centre of the active negociations carrying on by the Prince's friends on the Continent.

---

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

JOHN AP GRIFFITH TO SIR R. BROWNE.

SIR,

YOURS of the 13th (23rd) present, found us here in so great a distraction of thoughts, as we are not able to recollect ourselves, nor can any honest man's mind, I think, be so well composed (until there be some certainty of his Majesty's happy escape out of his malicious enemy's hands,) as to be able to think of any business, private or public; for truly, if his Majesty (which God of his infinite mercy forbid) shall perish, there will be but small hope left of recovering the monarch of England out of their hands, who are now masters of it, and so strongly fortified in it. God's providence rules over all; because sentence against rebellion is not executed speedily, our hearts ought not, therefore, to think or do evil; for though a sinner do evil a hundred times, and his days be prolonged, yet surely I know it shall be well with them that fear God, and we must all submit our wills to His divine pleasure, and adore the justice we do not see. As concerning Monsieur Herault's papers, as far as I can call to mind, you gave them to me after you said you had acquainted his Majesty with the same, which was, I think, at Beauvais, and I never heard his Majesty ever express any the least indignation either against the papers, or the person that sent them; but when at Breda, I asked his Majesty what he would have done thereupon, he commanded me to send a copy of them to Mr. Dean Stuart, who was then at Jersey, which accordingly I did, and wrote to him as his Majesty commanded me, and Mr. Dean can best tell you the effect thereof. This is all I can possibly at present call to mind of that business. Sir H. de Vic is, I hear, gone post for Paris, upon the news of his lady's being so dangerously sick, and will be with you, peradventure, as soon as this letter. I have sent the letters you recommended to my care according to their several addresses, and thank you for your care in sending mine. We have a report here that our royal master is safe landed at St. Malo. I wish it were true, which, if it be, I presume your next letter will speak of it. I am now meditating where to fix my quarters this next winter, and shall to that purpose remove with my small company from this ill and unhealthy place this next week, and therefore I pray forbear writing any more letters to me until I shall send you another address for your letters, for I must retire, being so far exhausted as I know not how to subsist six months longer in the most parsimonious way I can possibly live. As soon as I shall have received my letters by your next post, I intend to retire hence. We hear that Cromwell is resolved the next spring, if not sooner, for certain to visit France with a very good army in assistance of Spain. What hear you there of it? Sir John Marley's son is arriving here about three weeks since, affirmed that he left Mr. R. Fanshawe, Mr. Thomas Bray, and Mr. Harding, in Scotland, a week after the King was gone for England; and yet to our amazement and great sorrow we perceive they are all prisoners. Some report that Duke Hamilton is dead of his wounds. The Duke of Buckingham is said to be with the King, whom God preserve and send safe out of his enemy's power. I much apprehend that those in England will now take an opportune season to fall on Jersey before the spring. I pray do me the kindness to cause the inclosed to be conveyed,

You will much oblige, Sir,
Your most humble servant,
JOHN AP GRIFFITH.

My humble service to your good lady and family. You may assure those that informed you that the King expressed such indignation against Monsieur Herault and his papers, as to throw the same at his feet, that his Majesty is not at all subject to such passions, but of a singular and exemplary moderation.

Antwerp, (19*th*,) 29*th September*, 1651.

JO. WILLIAMS TO SIR R. BROWNE.

SIR,

I RECEIVED yours of the 7th of this month as I was ready to take waggon at Antwerp to come for this town, but I communicated it to my Lord Ambassador before I came thence, from whom (it is possible) you may have heard of it before this comes to you. I have, as you desired herein, sent you a letter open to Mr. De Cos—, which, that it be to your mind, be pleased to seal and present to him. I think you shall do well not to be troubled at the vague reports of any that shall, from the performance of your duty in presenting of Mr. Fonteine's proposition, endeavour to infer you are affected to that hypocritical profession of religion called Presbytery; if you had refused to have presented the same, or to have conveyed it to his Majesty, you may be sure those that sent it would have put it into some other hand to have done it, which probably might have been much more for their advantage. Those who call aspersions on you for that action, will do themselves most wrong. I hear Dr. Goff lurks in Amsterdam, upon some sinister employment; what that may be you may easier learn where you are, than we can discover here. We have no certain news where the King is, but the common report speaks him to be in the north of Scotland. God grant he be safe, and send him free and out of the power of his enemies' hands. It is very strange that not one man that was in the fight at Worcester should in all this time come over either into France or these parts, to give an account of that business. I pray let me know what you hear of their proceedings in England, upon their late prodigious success at Worcester. If you please to write to me once in a fortnight it will be enough, since now there is little likelihood that I can do his Majesty any service in these parts, and the truth is I must by degrees lessen my expenses, being already drawn very low; and if you think good, I shall write but once in fifteen days also to you. The Marquis of Worcester was lately here, and is now at Dort. My Lord Ambassador Hill is very firmly your true friend, and will be ready on any occasion (I am confident) to express himself to be such. I pray, what becomes of Sir Jo. Berkeley if the Queen break up the house, and whither will the Lady Moreton, Mrs. Seymour, and Mrs. Gardiner go in such case? I hope the Duke of York will apply himself diligently to be with the French King altogether, for that, I conceive, will be most for his advantage. Is Monsieur de Belleisle preparing to go for England? The French cannot send one that will do our master better service. I pray present my affectionate service to your good lady and children, and rest assured that I am constantly,

Sir,
Your most humble servant,
Jo. Williams.

Mr. Jane desires to know whether you received his letter sent you about twelve days since. I pray direct your letters to me henceforth thus:—

Aen Mynheer,
Mynheer Alderly, tot de juffervii Palmurt,
inde Papestraet, inden
Hague.

I hear those in England have sent a squadron of ships to the northward, to take tribute of the Dutch vessels for their fishing there, which will much trouble the Hogon Mogons here.

Hague, Oct. 8*th* (18*th*), 1651.

Shortly after the execution of the King, Charles II. was proclaimed in Scotland, and in 1650 he appeared in the Frith of Cromarty, but was not allowed to land until he had taken the Covenant, which his father had so firmly resisted. Here he raised his standard, and here a new civil war was opened in the July following, when Cromwell entered Scotland at the head of 11,000 horse and foot.

The first engagement took place in the level country beyond Dunbar, where Cromwell routed David Leslie, the commander of the Scotch army, and immediately afterwards invested Glasgow and Edinburgh. On the 6th January, 1651, Charles II. was ostentatiously crowned at Scone.

Great efforts were made to recruit the Scotch forces; and the suspension of military operations on the side of the Parliamentarians by the approach of winter, and by a fit of the ague which temporarily disabled Cromwell, inspired Charles with so much confidence, that he pushed on to Carlisle and Worcester, at which latter place he was again proclaimed.

The royal progress, however, by no means kept pace with the royal pretensions. The people were everywhere lukewarm, and the Prince's strength was reduced by desertions from day to day. In this condition Cromwell found the Royalists on the banks of the Severn, and surrounding them all on sides, obtained a conclusive victory over them under the walls of Worcester, driving their despairing cohorts before him pell-mell into the town. The following piece of intelligence relates to the state of affairs at this period, and appears to have been written about the date of the battle of Worcester.

ANONYMOUS INTELLIGENCE.

Good Doctor,

This is now the third time that I am greeting of you by my letters. I heard by Dr. Short (whom I met here last week) that you had that which I sent about the passages at the commencement. I had, happily, written weekly, but that indeed the new and unexpected commotions disappointed my personal visit fully intended of you; but, as the case stands here now, I can assure you, bene qui latuit, bene vixit. All horses are seized that are found here for the service, and no passage out any way, without a ticket.

Had not this happened, I guess that I had been now in those parts. I saw Mr. Love, the minister, beheaded, on Friday, the 22nd instant; all men admired his christian and cheerful resolution in death. He died as not owning the present power. In his speech some passages went high, and became tender, insomuch that the speech was suppressed, and one press broken as I heard; yet, in a very hasty manner: one very near to the all of what he spake is printed, which I have (hardly gotten) here sent you; something is omitted, but all that is here he said; only the prayer is altered. His body was kept, being forbidden from an intended public burial. Upon Monday last (on which day here was a general muster and great appearance of all the City Bands, in Islington Fields, divers Parliament men riding among them) yet that night, about midnight, in a mighty throng of people, he was buried in his own church, St. Lawrence; Mr. Manton preaching till towards one or two in the morning. One told me they sent in his wife, from private collections, about a thousand pounds. I hear not (hitherto) of any the other imprisoned ministers brought, as yet, to any public trial, but it is daily expected. A good sum offered (as I have been this week credibly and divers times informed) to discover the famous Mr. Marshall, the minister, who is withdrawed; also a large sum to bring in Jo. Lilburne (the leveller), who they say is gone with a party to the Scots' army. We walk here as upon thorns, and look as if we were afraid one of another; ἀκριβῶς περιπατεῖτε is now a very seasonable counsel. The King of Scots broke through a very dangerous pass, at Warrington Bridge, in Lancashire, by which means he got so far as Worcester, into which, after some opposition, he entered; which had he not done, his soldiers told him they could not march so far and much without some rest and repose. I heard the last night that the Mayor of Worcester (for that admission) is voted to be hanged without mercy, and that city fined 14,000*l.* There was a general report here that, upon Sunday morning last, the King had stormed and got into Gloucester, but it is held very improbable by wise men. About 500 horse got safely to Oxford, but stayed not; also, upon Sunday last, a troop or two were at Marlborough, and swept many horses in their return; but so many stops in the way, it is supposed that the main body and strength lie together about Worcester. They say that Lieutenant General Cromwell mustered 30,000 men upon Dunsmore Heath in the beginning of the week. It is supposed 50,000 men from several parts are encountering or surrounding them. One Mr. Middleton, father-in-law to Colonel Whaley, told a friend of mine, about Wednesday night last, that the King's army was compassed thirty miles round. The party sent from the Isle of Man from the Earl of Derby is spoiled; the report of his own being taken in person holds out. Sir Thomas Fairfax, through infirmity of body, desires to be excused from stirring in the work. Yet some speak highly of the Scottish strength, number, valour, and desperate resolutions. Some body (no mean one) had been blamed for suffering them to come so far into the bowels of the nation. They say the King's motto is, "A crown or a coffin." They, who give him for lost here (as well as in Scotland, where for certain Stirling Castle is yielded) build on these grounds:—1. His want of a retreating place, or an outlet to escape, in case of a rout. 2. Whence should there be supply of ammunition or artillery, the seas and garrisons being in other powers. 3. Whither convey sick and wounded soldiers. 4. Most counties disarmed before his approach to them; most of the gentry secured or overawed by the High Court and the new proclamation: yet others think that desperate resolution is the strongest artillery. It is supposed the issue will not now be long in discovering. This is all I can learn, as of the best probability, and from the best hands, being relieved very much till the storm be over, or fall another way.

There passed divers letters very lately of compliment between your father and Dr. Colle of Cambridge. Through this conveyance I have adventured to send the last to you, which, I pray, reserve for me till I come in person. Present, I pray, my choicest regards to your virtuous consort: her doves had been with her, as well as myself, had not this new storm risen. Remember me to your brother George, to old Mr. Hatch, and Creedy, when you see them; to Mr. Monke, and Mr. Abraham.

We had here the most ghastly lightning and thunder on the last Saturday, for about twelve hours' space, that ever was heard; divers turrets broke down.*

It is said that Charles did not appear on the field on this occasion, and that the din of the firing roused him from a deep sleep. After the battle the Royalists fled out of the town in consternation, leaving behind them 3000 slain and 10,000 prisoners. The unfortunate Prince, who had been thus twice fruitlessly proclaimed King, and who saw his last hopes and resources perish in this engagement, wandered about the country for six weeks, and, after a variety of perilous adventures, finally effected his escape to France.

---

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

1652—1670.

DEATH OF CROMWELL.
SYMPTOMS OF A RETURN TO MONARCHY.
DIVISIONS IN THE ARMY.
LORD FAIRFAX DECLARES FOR THE KING.
CORONATION OF CHARLES II.

1652—1670.

The Fairfax Correspondence is silent during the intervening years from the battle of Worcester to the Restoration. The General was nursing his wounds at Nun Appleton, and appears to have strictly avoided all correspondence on public affairs. The treatment he received from the hands of Cromwell, who omitted no opportunity of heaping indirect indignities upon him, fed from year to year his secret desire to reconstruct the monarchy; and when the death of the Protector opened the means of effecting that object, he threw the whole of his influence into the royal cause.

In the meanwhile a few scattered letters, derived from the miscellaneous Collection which we have already drawn upon in other places, will incidentally illustrate some points of personal and public interest.

The writers of the following letter were Americans who had just made their way in the year 1656 from England to the coast of France, apparently to convey intelligence to the Prince and enlist themselves in his service.

CHR. GARDINER AND RICHARD THOMAS TO ——

SIR,

BEING safely and well arrived hither, our obligations command our returns, as well in point of observance to your commands, as to satisfy our particular desires in the performance of those acknowledgments due to the civilities you were pleased to show to a couple of Americans, (such individuum vagums) manumitted (we hope) to a better purpose than the hoe, and another livelihood than potato slips, or cane tops.

And since you have under your hand reintituled us to our Christendom again, be assured we shall act nothing ever to dissever your candour and acceptation, or renounce our faith.

We do therefore earnestly beg the continuance of your favour in your intimations to Court on our behalf, that having got a little English fleece upon our backs, we may there appear upon another score, than either as forbidden or an useless commodity.

We cannot give you any other account of England, but what passes for vox populi, namely, that the House having been so long big of a Protector (as they call him), now 'tis but high time it should be a preparing to resolve itself into a midwifery, for the delivery of that monstrous brat, King Oliver; or otherwise good Mr. Doctor Red Coat is once more to apply his skill to ease and facilitate the throes, or quite scare it to another abortion.

We are sorry to see England daily, and cannot call it ours; God bless, prosper his Majesty, and restore him; and then we think we have prayed sufficiently, believing ourselves so much the rather faithful subjects, by how much the more (we hope) we are, sir, your most humble and most obliged servants,

CHR. GARDINER.
Calais, December 13th, 1656. R. THOMAS.

We have a rapid outline in the next letter of the doctrinal question, or questions, which at this period gave much occupation to the minds of Puritans and Papists. Sir William Morrice was a kinsman of Monk's, and was appointed at the Restoration, Secretary of State, an office for which he was ill qualified from his ignorance of foreign languages and foreign affairs. But he held it nevertheless for seven years, his general ability supplying the place of these special deficiencies. He spoke Latin fluently, and was a good Grecian, accomplishments of no great practical value to a Secretary of State. Monk was reported to have told the King that his cousin Morrice was qualified from his knowledge of French, and *his facility in writing short-hand;* but the statement is discredited. The mechanical faculty of short-hand would go a short way in the discharge of the responsibilities of statesmanship.

The book to which Morrice alludes in this lengthy communication was called "The Common Right to the Lord's Supper asserted." It was originally published in 1651, and the second edition, which he speaks of in 1658 as nearly ready for the press, did not appear till 1660. It is recorded of him that he would never suffer any man to say grace in his house except himself; there he considered himself both priest and king.

WILLIAM MORRICE TO ————.

SIR,

I HAD the felicity to receive those letters which you did me the favour to write; how long since they issued from your hands I know not, because they bear no date, but they arrived into mine about the beginning of the last month, and an advertisement came with them that they had long slept or loitered by the way. I suspended the return of my answer till I had been at our assizes at Exeter, where I hoped to have found out and fixed a shorter and surer way of intercourse with you than that of London, which is far about, and being by reason of miscarriages, far also from the nearest home. But, being there frustrate of my hopes, I shall now render you my hearty thanks for that you have honoured me with a salutation from your hand, which *non ultima laus est*, and whereby you have made legible your very civil respects, which spring not from my merit but your affection; for love being an appetite of union, there cannot but be some liking where is already a likeness by conjunction in the defence of one common cause, though *sequor à longe* and *non passibus æquis*. And though that assertion hath had too great an influence upon your preface, yet the rest of your discourse is full of the ways of your excellent judgment. I have received letters from many parts of this nation, and from their hands whose faces I never saw, but they have been rather compliments than instructions, but by yours I have profited, and when I read them I am the better. I shall now not animadvert upon the particulars thereof, because most of them will be spoken to in the next edition of my book, which is now transcribing, and will ere long be ready for the press. And into a second impression I have not only been strained by the gross faults in the former, which have put me very much out of countenance, but also prompted to it by the desires of many to translate the Latin quotations into English, and not to speak an unknown tongue without interpreting; and since, for aught I can hear or presage, I am not likely to be called again into the arena, I have thought it expedient to explain and enlarge it (though it be *crassa Minerva* already, and too corpulent), by publishing some other conceptions, which I travail to be delivered of, and by answering some objections which I have lately met with in our opposite's *gravioris armatura,* being not rich enough in time to squander it away in reading, much less in confuting trivial pamphlets. In the 30th section, which treats of eating and drinking unworthily, I may perchance speak something suitable to your notions, and jump with you, though I cannot make so strong or large a leap; and by reasons collected from the text, and the authority of ancient and modern interpreters, endeavour to vindicate that exposition which you say Tympson attempted to make good; and I shall give some hint that as the hyperbolical expressions of the Fathers brought forth transubstantiation, so that produced the opinion of the dignity of the Sacrament, and the greater degrees of preparation requisite to be partaken thereof; and that, notwithstanding in those Fathers is found as great express of speech concerning other ordinances, and the due partaking of them, and that they have said as much concerning hearing the Word, as you remind me that the Book of Common Prayer speaks concerning the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper; and I shall also assay to show that this tended only to make men more prepared, yet aimed not to stave them off till they attained to such preparation. I thank you for admonishing me that I did not consider to the bottom what stress is put upon that distinction between the part of the receiver and the admitter; yet truly before I was reminded thereof by your letters, I was sensible that a passage of this concernment, page 181, might be liable to exception, but as I alleged it out of Lessins and Vossine, *ex hypothesi* and *per concessionem,* so I have endeavoured to solve it by inserting a line in that place, and referring the reader for a right understanding of my proper sense therein to the foresaid section, where I labour to make good, that though it be true that none ought to receive without faith, repentance, and charity, yet it is false that none without faith, repentance, and charity, ought to be receivers; and therefore in such way, I hope, we need not afflict ourselves with melancholy thought for prejudicing men's salvation by a free admission, but may rather keep comfort in our consciences for having endeavoured to reduce them to a freedom of partaking that ordinance which is an effectual means of salvation. You will find that I have read *Themmoins' de Præparatione,* whom you quote, but yet that I cannot follow his tract all along. Concerning Mr. Baxter and Mr. Blake, I have sadly looked upon it, too, for two such godly and learned men, *contraria signis signa, pares aquilas,* to contend *Andabatarum more.* Mr. Baxter will have it to be the profession of a justifying faith which gives right to sacraments; Mr. Blake doth not deny that the faith is such objectively, and Mr. Baxter doth not affirm that it ought to be such subjectively. Mr. Baxter saith it must be the profession of a sound faith, and Mr. Blake tells us, that it need not be a sound profession of faith, and this Mr. Baxter contradicts not. Mr. Blake will grant it might be a profession serious in the opinion of charity, and Mr. Baxter contends not that it ought to be faith in the judgment of verity. I have called under examination Mr. Sawdry's Distinction of Privileges and Duties, and Moral and Positive Duties; but as the man is, so is his strength; and if you had drawn forth your pen, you would have given it a more mortal wound at the first coming out of that pamphlet. I said to some of Mr. Saunders's friends that I durst to have undertaken to defend Mr. Saunders against him upon his own grounds. I am perfectly convinced of what you say, that, as St. Augustine speaks of the receptacles of souls, there is no middle place; and the Prætor of the Samnites said, there is no middle way; so these pretending moderators might either fix upon the independent principles of convincing signs of regeneration, or come up full home to us for a dogmatical faith, there being in the middle way no firm ground to rest upon; but truth will not let them stay and set among the other, and interest and glory suffer them not to advance and close with us, and so like light instable meteors, they hang suspended between heaven and earth. When the Prince of Parma had as good as taken Antwerp, La Nove wished him to hang up his arms over the gate, for his fortune was at the ascendant, and would thenceforth be in a declination; even so after Mr. Sawdry had written his book of the Sabbath, he might have done consultly to have listened to a strange *leves calamos*, for he hath since only ascended downwards. Concerning that question, which you suppose the ground of all, whether the Church consist of the regenerate and unregenerate? I think I have spoken to that point in the 16th section of my book, where I have showed that this was the subject matter of contest between the Catholics and the Donatists: the former asserting, the other gainsaying, that the Church consisted of good and evil; but

I have now discussed that question more largely, and in a closer dispute, and have showed there is no real controversy in this matter, between us and the papists; that which seems to be, being occasionally the homonymy of the word Church, and their arguing from the Church, materially taken, to the Church understood formally, absolutely, simply, and univocally; and I further prove, that the unregenerate men are so far parts of the Church, as to be capable of the Sacraments, and that the being in the Church in such way and manner as they be, is that which gives right to Sacraments. I have held you too long at so poor an entertainment, or rather at a bill of fare, only telling you how you are like to be hereafter entertained. I shall therefore, further, only tell you that your choicer gift and learned labours I much reverence and love, and I never read anything in your writings which I disliked, but that you say you will write no more. I shall for my part, always pay you my share of the thanks which you have justly merited, for that excellent salve which you have compounded and applied to the disease of this Church sick of *solutio continui.* I have an hearty desire, and shall reckon it a great advantage to keep a correspondency with you, and I shall put it upon the score of my felicities to spring or meet any occasion of doing you real service, whereby I may merit the name of

Your very affectionate friend to serve you,

WILL. MORRICE.

Werinton, April 13th, 1658.

The Mr. John Nicholas, who writes the following letter, was the son of the Secretary, and the person addressed was, no doubt, Sir Richard Browne.

MR. JOHN NICHOLAS TO ——

SIR,

I WRITE this by my father's command, that you may not be disappointed of a letter, he being unable to do it himself, having been taken violently ill two nights since; but he hath had such effects of the benefits of nature, as I hope the worst is past, and he finds himself pretty well this day. I am by this to acknowledge your favour of the 12th instant to my father, and to entreat you for the future to direct your letters to him in this place, as he desired by his former, having removed my mother and his family to this town, where they arrived the last night, Bruges being now a troublesome and insecure place. This day se'nnight 5,000 of the French horse faced it, and took away some horses just without the portcullis, among which the Lord Newbrugh lost five. Their whole army lies still between Diamude and Nieuport, without attempting anything; and it is now believed they will not meddle with the latter, it being very well provided. The generals of this country as yet keep their posts, whither the last week's letters told you they were retired; and in this leisure from action the Duke of Gloucester, having left Don Juan at Bruges, came hither on Thursday to see his Majesty, and will stay with him till Tuesday, which day his Majesty goes to Antwerp for a week's time. My Lord Lieutenant meets him there, and my Lord Chancellor from Breda, who buried his father-in-law the last week. I have no more to add, but my father's service to you, with the assurance that I am with great respect, sir,

Your most faithful and most humble servant,

JOHN NICHOLAS.

Brussels, July 20th, 1658.

We are now approaching the avatar of Charles II. Cromwell died on the 3rd September, 1658. His son Richard succeeded to the government as quietly as if it had been a matter of fixed hereditary right. In January, 1659, he issued writs for a new Parliament, which was broken up into factions in its first session. The formation of parties outside the walls soon became even more formidable than the convulsions within. Six months had scarcely elapsed when the Royalists began to calculate with certainty, as the following fragment discloses, upon the restoration of the Prince :—

FRAGMENT OF A LETTER ANNOUNCING THE PROSPECT OF THE RESTORATION OF CHARLES II.

THE general opinion here is, that after the peace is settled, the two crowns will, in consideration of the common interest of monarchy, unanimously co-operate in the re-establishment of his Majesty, towards which here are generally great inclinations in the people. And I have good reason to believe also that this Court is of late better disposed thereunto than formerly; whilst the rebels' disorders in England seem more and more to thicken into a dark chaos of confusion, out of which we may speedily see some auspicious beam of light by a blessed fiat from above, break forth, discovering the way and means for his Majesty's entries into his kingdoms; and illustriously re-investing his sacred person with his too long eclipsed inherent native royal splendour. This is, &c.

6th June, 1659.

The army was divided into three sections—one purely Republican; another devoted to the Court, such as it was; the third which, gradually uniting itself to the first, demanded, as the basis of future arrangements, the dissolution of the Parliament. Fleetwood was at the head of this section, which, meeting at his residence, was designated the Wallingford House party.* They insisted upon the formation of a council of officers, to which Richard Cromwell gave a trembling assent, under the fear of being deposed if he resisted. To the proceedings of this council Fleetwood alludes in a letter to Vice-Admiral Lawson, one of the most remarkable men of his day. Lawson was a person of obscure origin, who entered the naval service as a common seaman, and by the force of his great merits ascended at last to the rank of admiral. He served under Blake, and acquitted himself gallantly in the engagements with the Dutch. He distinguished himself also against the Algerines; and succeeded Sandwich in the command of the fleet, from which, however, he was afterwards dismissed by the Parliament. Pledged all throughout to the Republican cause, he abandoned it at the last moment, and, in common with Waller, Denbigh, Townsend, Popham and many others, rendered efficient help in carrying out the designs of the Royalists. Lawson died in 1665 of a wound in the knee, which he received in an engagement with his old antagonists, the Dutch.

---

* It was at Wallingford House the Duke of Buckingham was born.

GENERAL FLEETWOOD TO VICE-ADMIRAL LAWSON.

SIR,

I PRESUME it is not unknown to you that the Council of Officers had resolved upon a Parliament to be called, and sit the 24th of January, before they heard of your desires, as to the return of the Long Parliament, wherein they met with several difficulties, amongst which this was not the least, that they had engaged themselves to my Lord Lambert, and that part of the army in the North, that we would not consent to the return of the Long Parliament without their consent and freedom with us; and since their being in those parts, the officers have received an account that they have declared against the Parliament return: this together with other reasons (which will be imparted to you), they conceive themselves obliged to continue in their former resolutions, for writs to issue for the election of a new Parliament, upon qualifications, the consideration of which, how they may be made practical, and thereby prevent the hazarding of anything wherein the true interest of our cause hath been, as also that there may be such principles laid down and asserted by us, for the preserving thereof as the armies and navies of this Commonwealth will stand by: the Council in order to these two weighty considerations, have desired that you would please to appoint certain persons to consider with them about it, how both may be fixed unto mutual satisfaction; they being desirous to their utmost endeavours, for a happy composure of all difference betwixt us, having so great a value and esteem for you and the rest of the officers with you, if it may stand with your conveniency. It will be advantage to our public affairs, if you will appoint some persons to confer of these things upon the place here, than for us to send down to the fleet. And believe it, sir, whatever may be designedly objected against us, yet you will find this army fixed to anything which may preserve the interest of this cause, and ready upon all occasions to express affection to yourself, and the fleet with you, in which upon all occasions you shall find me ready to approve myself

Your affectionate friend and humble servant,

CHARLES FLEETWOOD.

December 21*st*, 1659.

The actual approach of the King, and the joy of the nation at the immediate prospect of his Restoration, form the subject of the following letter to Mr. Evelyn.

JOHN SCUDAMORE TO MR. EVELYN, ANNOUNCING THE APPROACHING RETURN OF KING CHARLES II. TO ENGLAND.

HONOURED SIR,

HAD I not been ever since my coming over in the country engaged in the embraces of a wife, I should have nothing left to plead my excuse for this silence. Yet rather late than never, I take this opportunity to present my services to you. Well, without any more ceremony, for it has cost me an hour's study to make this preamble, we are almost arrived to our great unexpected felicity, the arrival of our Most Dread Sovereign the King, who we suppose to be now at sea, in order to his coming hither. Never were people so overjoyed, nor so desirous of their Prince's presence, than this kingdom; and as he intends to come with a noble train of his own subjects, so I doubt not but it will give an invitation to you to make us happy with your company.

Sir, as I have been much engaged to you for the friendly offices you did me at Paris, so I shall now desire both your assistance and advice. At the coronation of the King, I suppose there will be a certain number of the Knights of the Bath made, and in regard some friends have advised me to be one, so I shall desire that favour of you, that if you come not over before the coronation yourself, you will be pleased to give me your letters of commendation to my Lord of Ormond, my Lord Culpepper, or whom else you shall think fit. I remember my father had a great friend of Sir Edward Nicholas, and I believe it will not be amiss to write to him in it; but I leave it to yourself, desiring you both to advise and help me in it; and I shall be ready to serve you in anything you shall command. I assure you I am very unwilling to take this upon me, but that I am earnestly desired by some, whose interest, perhaps, may be good at Court; but many strings to a bow of this nature cannot be amiss, and may easier be done by those about his Majesty's person than by those more remote. I have nothing of news to impart, only Cromwell, Bradshaw, Ireton, and Pride, are attainted for High Treason, and order gone forth from the Parliament to apprehend all the judges of our late Sovereign, and all their estates, real and personal, are forfeited to his Majesty. Seven of these murderers are excepted out of pardon, but none yet nominated. My Lord Scudamore asks very kindly for you, and often remembers you with much respect. A line, I pray, from you by the first post.

I am, Sir,
Your most devoted servant,
JOHN SCUDAMORE.

London, 17*th May*, 1660.

We now return to the Fairfax papers.

The share which Lord Fairfax took in the Restoration was prompt and decisive. While Monk was yet in command of the army in Scotland (where he had been originally placed by Cromwell), and before any public movement was made towards the accomplishment of that object, Lord Fairfax declared himself for a Free Parliament, and the restoration of the Monarchy, and resolved to place himself at the head of the Yorkshire forces on the 1st January, 1660. It was necessary to communicate this resolution to General Monk; and the task, which was beset with difficulties and perils, was entrusted to Brian Fairfax. Lambert's army lay between Monk and Fairfax, and the Border was infested with moss-troopers, who superadded to their political and religious intolerance something of the recklessness and savagery of a roving banditti. Brian Fairfax executed his dangerous undertaking with signal success, and left behind him the following remarkable account of his journey, his interview with Monk, and his return to Num Appleton.

ITER BOREALE.

Hæc olim meminisse juvabit.

I HAVE heard King Charles in his pleasant way of discourse tell how many pretenders there were to have been instrumental, besides those who really were so, in his escape from Worcester, and many more at his Restoration. In the lowest form of those I may pretend to a place as helping to bring him out of Scotland who brought him, the King, into England, which was more than some did at his Restoration, who were made Lords for it. This I may say, if the service be little, the reward was less. My story is this:

In the month of December 1659. My Lord Fairfax being at his house at Nun Appleton near York, received a letter from General Monk at Coldstream in Scotland, upon the river Tweed, ten miles above Berwick, by Dr. Clergis; it was to desire him to join with him against Lambert's army. He advised with few what answer to return, but there was with him the Duke of Buckingham, Mr. Henry Arthington, and Mr. Edward Bowles, minister of York, who had been his chaplain when he was General, a prudent man and dexterous in affairs, and Clergis applied to him to deliver the letter to, and my Lord Fairfax was easily persuaded to consent to it.

Clergis could not return with the answer, having got a fall and hurt his leg; a gentleman of quality undertook it, but thinking to go the direct way into Scotland by Newcastle, he was stopped by Lambert's army. It troubled my Lord F. exceedingly that General Monk should not hear from him, nor was it safe for him to declare against Lambert, or stir from his house, till Monk had notice of the day when he intended to do it, that he might march into England, in case Lambert, or any part of his army should fall into Yorkshire.

Colonel Lilburne lay at York with his regiment watching my Lord Fairfax, but some of his friends had notice of his intentions, and such as had great reputation in the late war under his command, as Major Smythson, Colonel Bethell, and others; but generally in the country, they had no notice, whereof his friends complained afterwards, that he should engage in so hazardous a design and not acquaint them; but the time was so short, it could not be done.

It was now the 20th of December, and my Lord F. had fixed upon the 1st of January to leave his house, and appear at the head of such forces as in so short a time could be got together, but the most necessary business was yet to do, which was to give notice of it to General Monk.

Now I come to tell my own story, the other being what I heard from those who best knew all particulars.

December 20, 1659. I came accidentally from London and Cambridge to my relations in Yorkshire, and waiting on my Lord Fairfax at Appleton when his friends were with him, late at night he sent for me into his chamber, and the first words I heard him say, were, "Here is my cousin Brian, I will undertake he shall do it." What he meant I knew not, but they asked me if I would go into Scotland. I said with all my heart, where my lord pleased. I little considered the trouble or danger of it; and much less the politic part, being neither old nor wise enough, for only that I knew two armies were facing one another and ready to engage, and we were well-wishers to General Monk.

[They told me I must go next morning; my equiqage was soon ready; they would not let me go take leave of my father a mile off, lest he should hinder my going, and they obliged my brother then with us not to tell him till I was gone, and indeed a far less indulgent father would not easily have consented. My kind relation, Mr. Arthington, and Mr. Bents were to instruct me what way to go and what to say when I came to General M. They considered, I did not (the season of the year being a memorable one for frost and snow), the way I was to take, to avoid Lambert's army, were the hills of Westmoreland, Cumberland, Scotland, but more than all that which they thought not of, the moss-troopers upon the borders.]*

They told me I must begin my journey next morning. I was to carry no letter, but to tell General Monk, "That my Lord Fairfax had received his letter, and had sent an answer sooner, but the messenger was stopped in Lambert's army. He would join with him against Lambert, who was against all Parliament, and oppressed the countries where he lay by free quarters and contributions. That he resolved, God willing, to appear at the head of what force the country of Yorkshire would meet him with on the first day of January; but desired him to consider the danger he was in from Lambert's army that lay between them, and therefore desired that if any part of it marched back towards Yorkshire, he would advance with his army, and *watch them.*"

This I could easily remember; the next thing was to be directed in my journey, and that my cousin Arthington undertook to do. They would not let me go a mile that night to take leave of my father at Bolton Percy, lest he should hinder my going, and they obliged my brother who was with us, not to tell him till I was gone. The Duke of Buckingham ordered what sort of disguise I should go in, which was like a young country clown, being little better.

The keeper of the park furnished me with clothes, and with an excellent good horse, that seemed to be a very ordinary one. I have reason to remember him, for he was a means of saving my life. The Duke would not let me have sword nor pistol, but my brother put into my hand his cane, which had a rapier in it. My brother and Mr. Arthington went with me next morning to Mr. Bowles at

---

* The substance of this passage enclosed in brackets appears to be repeated in other places; but it is here given as it is found in the original M.S.

York, who heard me say my lesson, and repeat the message I was to carry to General Monk. Then they considered the danger and difficulties of the voyage. I must not go the ordinary way into Scotland, nor come near Lambert's army, which was quartered in Durham and Northumberland. And the other was a dreadful way, which nothing but frost and snow made passable, over the rivers and hills of Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Scotland. My greatest danger they foresaw not, which was the moss-troopers upon the borders.

My cousin Arthington ordered it so that I should go that night to Sir Robert Strickland's at Thornton Bridge, and he writ a letter to him who I was, and whither I was going, and recommended me to his care, who knew all those countries, and had an estate in Westmoreland, and took all the care of me imaginable.

Sir R. Strickland kindly received me, and was more concerned for me than I was for myself. He writ by me to his steward Thomas Shepard at Natland, near Siser, in Westmoreland, who knew those northern countries as well as any man, and had been employed on such like occasions by Sir M. Langdale, when Duke Hamilton entered England, commanding him to go along with me into Scotland; and if our horses failed upon the way, to call at Sir Philip Musgrave's, and some others that he named, to furnish us.

Sir R. Strickland sent his servant with me to his house at Siser, near Kendal, in Westmoreland, whither we came in two days, over the hills and dales of the West Riding of Yorkshire, leaving Richmond on our right hand, lodging the first night at a miserable place upon the moors, without a name.

Mr. Shepard kindly entertained me at his house, and prepared to go with me next morning; but he told me of more difficulties and dangers than I thought of; that troops and Lambert's army were quartered all the way, and the by-ways watched. But the great danger would be from the moss-troopers, who robbed and murdered on the borders. But he doubted not to tell a fair story, so as to pass the soldiers; and for the moss-troopers, he had an old acquaintance, who had been the captain of them, who lived at Bewcastle, in Gilsland, and he would give us a pass that would secure us.

We went away by moonshine next morning from Natland, and I came not into a bed till I returned thither. We went to Kendal and Penrith, which was full of Lambert's soldiers, so that we durst not tarry there. They examined him, but he satisfied them, and they let us pass. Here I began to feel the cold air upon the hills beyond Penrith—I think they call it Inglewood Forest. My remedy against it was to run up or down hills with my horse in my hand. We came to a village at night, where we refreshed ourselves and our horses; but there came some of Lambert's army, and we had like to have been stopped by them, one of them saying my hands were whiter than ordinary; but my guide pleased them by telling how to cure their sick horses, there being a general disease among them, and they asked no more questions.

The next morning we crossed the river Eden several times, for all was frozen, and we never rid through water in all our voyage. We went near Sir Philip Musgrave's house, but had no occasion to call. Leaving Carlisle about six miles of our left hand, we came to Brampton, near Naworth, in Gilsland, where we rested, as well as we could, all night, to fit ourselves and our horses for the next day's journey into the borders of Scotland. Here was quartered a troop of horse, but most of their horses sick, and my guide was their farrier. They asked whither we went; he told them to my Lady Graham at Netherby, not far off.

The next morning we went for Bewcastle, which stands in a vale before we enter Scotland. It concerned us to call here of the captain, whose name I have forgot; but we lost our labour, for he was not at home, which put us into some fear.

We had now escaped Lambert's army, and were to steer our course on our right hand, north-east, to Coldstream, Liddesdale, and Tweedale. My guide knew the coast, though he knew not the way. We were to pass the hills of Liddesdale, and go to the banks of the river Tweed, which would bring us to Kelso and Coldstream. The moonshine and the snow made the nights as clear as day. About midnight we came to a village called Castletown, in Scotland, upon the hills.

Here we had the misfortune to have my guide's horse fall lame, that he could but go foot pace, which would not do my business, and what to do without him I knew not. We went into a house, which we saw had a fire in it. I believe it was the best in the town. The firestead was in the middle of the room, the cows at one end, and hogs at the other. The folks lay near the fire, the smoke of which helped to keep them warm, and a flat stone over it to bake an oaten cake on. Here we rested two or three hours, hoping the horse would recover his lameness, but he was rather worse. I had got a nap in a chair by the fireside, and when I waked was impatient to be gone. I had computed my time so as if I did not get to Coldstream the next night, I could not be back again at Appleton by New Year's Day, which, though it was not necessary, yet I had a great mind to be with my Lord Fairfax when he left his house and took the field; besides the satisfaction it would be to my lord to know General Monk's answer.

I desired Thomas Shepard to try if he could hire another guide with a horse to bring me to Kelso, or any other town in my way. While we were talking, a man appears, offering his service, saying he had a good horse, and would bring me to Kelso by next morning. I was glad of his offer, and told him I would reward him, and bid him get ready presently. He was a lusty, raw-boned fellow, and told us of feats he had done, and showed wounds in his arm, which he said he got at Wigan, in Lancashire. I began to suspect my new guide, and my old one liked him worse than I did. He earnestly dissuaded me from venturing with him, telling me he believed he was a moss-trooper. But I was so intent upon Coldstream, and had no other way of getting thither in time, that I resolved to go with him. He was presently at the door a-horseback, and my old guide very unwillingly brought out my horse. I must here bless God for his merciful protection, though I tempted his providence by so foolish and rash an action. But I thought I was doing my duty, and that many men's lives in Yorkshire might depend upon General Monk's marching to their assistance. He had not gone far with me, but he began to play tricks with his horse, galloping and charging about me. I desiring him to mind his way, but he was at it again, and now I plainly saw my own folly, and fell to my prayers that God would bring me out of this danger.

I considered what to do if he attacked me; I had no weapon, for the cane my brother gave me I was persuaded by Thomas Shepard to leave at his house, for fear it might betray me. I saw no weapon he had, but my old guide told me they are never without their daggers. I thought my best way would be, if he came up to me, to try to throw him off his horse, and this thought, by God's blessing, saved my life. He had brought me then about three miles from Castleton, where I had left my old guide, and a contrary way (as I understood afterwards) from Coldstream, whether he promised to carry me. It was a clear moonshine night, ice and snow under our feet. On a sudden he turns about his horse, and came up to me, took me by the throat, and I think asked for money. I took hold of his throat, and struggling together, I threw him off his horse. His horse ran away, and mine very willingly after him, and galloped back the same way; we came to the very door where we took horse. T. Shepard came out, concluding I was murdered, but seeing me, he held up his hands, thanking God for my deliverance, for says he, I never expected to see you again alive. Since you went I have heard who this fellow is; I interrupted him, desiring him to say to more, but get up upon his lame horse, and let us wander together any way upon the hills till morning. He did so, and then told him what had passed. I had thrown him off his horse, but did not know but he might pursue us. I had not hurt him nor he me. Then he told me he had heard who he was. His name was Anthony Ellott, the most notorious moss-trooper in all the country, and no man more famous for robberies and murders. I have reason to believe it from what I have since heard by Mr. Ronald Gryms, the countryman, that this very Anthony Ellott was hanged at Carlisle the year after, and said nothing troubled him more than that he designed to have robbed a countryman that was going from the King, as he thought, to General Monk, the year before. We found ourselves at a loss for want of a guide, but resolved to have no more horse guides, and wished for a town or a house to direct us. We came at last to a house, and hired the man to guide us to the next town, in the way to Kelso, which he said was Hawick; thither he brought us, and from thence we took another to Kelso, a pleasant town upon Tweed, and hither we came about sunset. Now we thought ourselves safe, and hearing that Colonel Morgan commanded in the town, I thought by his help I must come sooner to Coldstream, which was, I think, about ten miles below upon the same river Tweed, than if I went on with my lame guide. The soldiers examining us, I told them I desired to be brought to their Colonel.

Colonel Morgan asked me from whence I came. I told him out of Yorkshire. He asked me my business. I told him, being alone, that I was going to General Monk on a message. He said he hoped it was from my Lord Fairfax. I told him it was, and my time is very short, for I was to be with him again the 1st of January, and my guide's horse was lame, which had made me lose a day. He asked kindly how his old General did, and told me I should have his horse, and a groom to go with me to Coldstream, for the way was very dangerous and slippery, and unless my horse was shod for the frost, I could not go upon the banks of the Tweed all the way. I have reason to think he did not conceal it from his officers and soldiers, that Lord Fairfax had sent to General Monk; for when I returned the next day they all knew it, and made Lambert's army know it too, which had a good effect.

Now I feared no moss-troopers, for I had a sword and pistols. The way was so slippery that my own horse could never have carried me. The very groom could tell me he hoped I came on a good errand from my Lord Fairfax in Yorkshire, which I perceived had been given out to encourage the soldiers.

The Colonel told me he would take care of my horse and my guide till I returned the next day. I stayed not above an hour in Kelso, and came to Coldstream about midnight.

I bid the groom go directly to the head-quarters. There I alighted, and desired to be brought to the General, for I had a message to deliver to him. It was a poor little thatched house in a poor town upon the river Tweed upon a little brook that runs into the river, called by that name, over against Wark Castle that gives title to my Lord Gray; and twelve miles above Berwick I was brought up into the room where General Monk was, with four or five persons with him. I knew none of them, nor they me, but since they themselves have told me, there was Dr. Barrow the Judge Advocate, Colonel Knight, Mr. Lock, and I think Mr. Clerk his secretary, Messrs. Gumble and Price chaplains, and Major Miller. I said to him, "If it please your Excellency, I desire to deliver a message to you in private." He took me into a little hole—we must call it a closet—I told him I came from my Lord Fairfax "with an answer to his letter, that he would on the first day of January appear at the head of what force he could in Yorkshire and declare against Lambert's army. But he desired him to watch Lambert, that no part of his army came down upon him." General Monk embraced me, and thanked my Lord Fairfax, and said he *would watch Lambert as a cat watches a mouse*—it was his own expression—and that a troop of horse should not move but he would follow them. I had now done my errand, and received my answer, and desired his Excellency's leave to return immediately, telling him I had lost some time by reason of my guide's lame horse, and another guide I took upon the Borders that would have robbed me. He made me tell the story, and would have had me tell his name if I knew; but that I scrupled and concealed, after he had said he would send immediately to have him and others thereabouts hanged, for he had lost several men about that place.

I was with him an hour, and he sent for a bottle of sack and a piece of roast beef, which his butler brought into the little room to us: he was afterwards bottle-man to King Charles, when I was equerry, and very well he remembered me at Coldstream.

He told me something of his friends at Portsmouth and in Ireland, who, he hoped, would join with him, but what he meant I knew not till afterwards; and when I told it my Lord Fairfax he did not much like it; it was Haslerig, and they that declared for the old Parliament without the secluded members, which they after called the Rump.

General Monk did not seem at all to suspect the truth of what I said, that I came from my Lord Fairfax.

I told him I was a scholar in the University, and his kinsman, and that Colonel Fairfax was my uncle. He told me [he] was quartered at the next house, and I should see him if I pleased. He sent Major Miller with me, and gave him charge of me, to get me a bed; the Major offered me his own, but I only laid down upon it till towards the morning. While I was with the General they brought him word that Major Creed of Lambert's party gave an alarm to the outguards; there was but the river between them, and that frozen. The General made nothing of it. It seems he was posted too securely with his foot, that he feared not Lambert's horse.

When I came from the General I looked them all in the face in the next room, and remembered some of them afterwards; Major Knight, and Major Miller I knew very well in the Guards, in that regiment of Coldstream; an honest, stout gentleman. He went with me to beat up my uncle Charles Fairfax, his quarters. I told him my lord and my father were well, and we hoped to see him shortly in Yorkshire. He knew my business, and said little, but was overjoyed to see me.

Then I went with the Major, and laid down on his bed for three or four hours. Early in the morning I returned to Kelso, where I found my guide and his horse ready; and on we went for England, but not the way we came, though I had now got a sword, and thought myself a match for Anthony Ellot.

We went in sight of Hume Castle and Roxburgh Abbey, and by Hermitage, the seat of Buccleugh, now the Duchess of Monmouth. We went near Netherby, and to Brampton in Cumberland.

And here we saw the effects of what I had observed, and my guide had told me all the soldiers at Kelso talked of. It was reported in both armies that Yorkshire was up in arms, and my Lord Fairfax at the head of them, and declared for General Monk.

We left a troop of horse of Lambert's army at Brampton, six miles from Carlisle, but they were gone, and the people told us they went away in disorder. We found the same at Perth; and it was well the report made them more formidable than really they were, for want of time and notice.

I got to my Lord Fairfax at Appleton, I think it was the eve of New Year's Day, and told him what General Monk said, that he would watch Lambert as a cat watches a mouse, and would march into England upon his first motion.

In my absence, my Lord F. had sent my brother, Henry Fairfax (afterwards Lord F.) with a letter to Colonel Overton, Governor of Hull, to try his pulse, if he would declare against Lambert's army; but he refused. There was less hopes of Lilburne and his regiment at York. The gentlemen of the country were not sent to, as was expected; but for all those discouragements my lord was resolved to keep his word with General Monk; and the very next morning after my return he went from his house at Appleton, towards his other house at Denton, in the West Riding of Yorkshire. The Duke of Buckingham went to Knaresborough, to meet the troops under the command of Sir Henry Cholmely, Colonel Bethel, Colonel Smythson, Strangways, &c., who had promised to be ready.

My Lord F. was very ill of a fit of the stone, but went in his coach. I think none [went] with him in the coach but my brother and Mr. Arthington, at whose house we intended to be that night. We were about ten horsemen attending him. I was one of them, being not at all weary with my Northern journey. My lord was forced to stop at a little house, called the Papermill, half way, where he voided a great stone, and went on towards Arthington.

Soon after, about Harewood, we met a party of Lilburne's regiment, that had been conducting some ammunition to Skipton Castle. They ask us whither my Lord F. was going. We told them, to his own house, at Denton. They said there was more in it than so, but let us pass. Then we met Captain Wilkinson, with a party of near one hundred, who came to meet my lord, and were at his service.

At Arthington there came to us Sir Thomas Slingsby, and several other gentlemen of the country, with their friends and attendants, horse and arms; but not fit to oppose Lilburne's old regiment, which we expected would be upon us, next morning, from York; much less Lambert's army. They had seized the powder and bullet that was going to Skipton, so the war was declared.

When my lord was retired into his chamber, and none with him, as I remember, but my cousin Arthington, a man of great prudence and interest in his country, (who married my lord's sister), my brother and myself, his lordship began to express himself as one that knew what war was better than we did.

"I am beholden," says he, "to these gentlemen that come so willingly to venture their lives on this occasion; but it troubles me that I should bring them into this danger; for we have to do with old soldiers. And if I had but such a troop of horse as I had at the beginning of the war, I could march with them where I pleased." He resolved to go to Denton next morning, hoping by that time more of the country would come to him. They took pity on me, who had been so long without rest, and provided me with a bed, though the house was so full.

Before I fell asleep I heard great knocking at the gate. It was a gentleman, that seemed to be an officer in the army, who asked if Mr. Brian Fairfax was there, he desired to speak with him. I got up, and went to the gate to him. He told me he had been a scholar in Christ College in Cambridge, and knew me very well of Trinity College. He was now an officer (I think a cornet) in the Irish brigade, under Colonel Kelsy, and desired to speak with my Lord Fairfax. I invited him into the house, and acquainted my lord, who bid me bring him to his bedside: he, poor man, was restless with the gout and stone. I think my brother and cousin Arthington were in the room. "My lord," says the officer, "I am sent from the Irish brigade, a body of 1200 horse in the rear of the army, to tell your lordship they are all at your service, and will obey your commands; and I desire to know where you please to appoint them to meet and join with you." My lord thanked them and him, and told him he expected to meet some of his friends in a day or two upon Marston Moor, and desired that place might be the rendezvous.

It was not fit to discover to the officer how very welcome this news was to us in the condition we were in, but we made much of him/ I am sorry I have forgot his name; but I had an opportunity of doing him a service, by the Duke of Buckingham's help, and other recommendations, upon this account. He had a command in the army in Ireland, where he and Captain Stroud, who, I think, was his captain, lived several years after.

And now one regiment after another in Lambert's army, as they came away, declared for their old General, and there did not want some about him that would have persuaded him to take upon him the command; but he absolutely refused it, and bid them obey General Monk.

The next day we went to Knaresborough, where we met some formed troops, under old officers, that had served in the war; and here we met the Duke of Buckingham, which gave occasion to some officers to say it was a Cavalier design, and they would not be satisfied till he went away from us. Nor did the jealousy cease then.

The next day we met the Irish brigade upon Marston Moor, six miles of York. The officers, whose names and persons I remember, were Kelsy, Goodman, Stroud. They came with all civility and respect to my Lord Fairfax, but they seemed to have a reserve to themselves, as if by conversing with some of our own officers, or corresponding with Lilburne's regiment in York, they had the same jealousy of a Cavalier design. And I fancy, if they had not stood in awe of Monk, who was then marched into England, we should have heard more of them.

The next day we expected to march into York, but the gates were shut upon us, and there it was that some of the Irish brigade tendered a paper to my Lord Fairfax, declaring against any government by a single person, &c.; which I saw him tear before their face, and immediately went to the head of his own troops, and were drawn out in the fields towards Popleton, facing one another.

I was now really afraid that we were going to charge one another, which was a new thing to me, and I did not like it. I never stirred from my Lord Fairfax, and I had an excellent horse that the Duke of Buckingham valued at 100*l.* under me, with suitable accoutrements. But my heart had failed me had not my Lord Fairfax's looks encouraged me. He began to be another man, his motions so quick, his eyes so sparkling, giving the word of command like a General, that I took heart, and I think could have charged with him.

Thus far I observed; but know not the reason that hindered us from fighting. Our friends were all this while contending for us in York, Sir Philip Monckton and others, but no fighting. I am persuaded that General Monk's hovering over us, and we declaring for him, kept these men in awe, who finding their own strength, had a mind to impose what laws they pleased upon us, but doubted the consequence. Their Colonel, Zanchy, was all this while with Lambert, and never left him, which makes me reflect upon the message I carried to General Monk, which was so punctually observed on both sides, and with so happy success; for as the report of my Lord Fairfax rising in Yorkshire did alarm Lambert's army, and was a great occasion of their deserting him, so the report of General Monk's march into England, kept them in awe, that they durst not offer any affront, or violence to him, or the country gentlemen that were with him.

We quartered at Popleton that night, at my lord's sister's house, Mrs. Hutton.

Jan. 4.—Now one great work was done, Lambert's army routed without bloodshed, and himself ran away with Zanchy and a few men with him into the south. But the greater work remained for Monk to do, which by degrees he did, and had the honour and reward of it.

Jan. 6.—The next morning I was sent post to London, with a letter* to Lenthall the Speaker, whom the army at London had owned for their General, aud placed him in his chair again, though but pro tempore. My lord was informed that a man was sent up the day before with a letter to him, from those officers, when we had no reason to trust, with a relation of what had passed in Yorkshire : these letters proved to be from Monk himself, and this man I was to endeavour to overtake upon the way to London, which I did, and got to London half a day before him. I delivered the letter to the Speaker at the Rolls in Chancery Lane, which looked like the head-quarters of a General rather than Speaker of the House of Commons. I was received coldly enough, for we were not thought his best friends in Yorkshire. And now I remember what General Monk said to me at Coldstream, concerning his friends at Portsmouth, meaning Haslerig, &c., whose life he afterwards saved, but surely they could not think we did all this for their sakes, though they would have the world believe we did.

By this journey I took an opportunity of being with my Lord Fairfax when General Monk visited him, being lame of the gout, at Appleton, where I might have hoped to receive both their thanks together, but I was told they embraced one another and Monk acknowledged the service he had done, and offered up the command of the army to him, which he refused, but told him his opinion. My lord told him his mind, that there was no peace nor settlement to be expected in England but by a Free Parliament, and upon the old foundation of Monarchy, which was farther than any of the addresses went. The answer was not such as gave any great satisfaction, but perhaps it was his reservedness, for he had no reason to suspect my lord's sincerity, who had given him such testimony of his affection to him. The City of York was delivered up to my Lord Fairfax before General Monk came, and before he got to London the gentlemen of the country universally met at York, and agreed upon an address to him, declaring for a Free Parliameut, and till that was chosen they would pay no taxes.* I know not but this

---

* The letter was from my Lord F., Sir H. Cholmely, and Henry Arthington, of their having declared against Lambert, who had oppressed the country, and thanks were ordered.

---

* The following letter to the Editors of the Congregational Magazine, published in February 1831, contains some curious particulars concerning the interviews at York between Fairfax and Monk, and also the account of Dr. Bowles to which reference has been made in a previous part of this work.

THE REV. E. BOWLES AND THE RESTORATION.

To the Editors,

In the "Historical Notices of Nonconformity at York," which appears in your Number for December last, The Rev. Edward Bowles is mentioned as having been "particularly active about the Restoration; that he highly approved of that measure; and that he accompanied Lord Fairfax to Breda."

The following interesting anecdote concerning Mr. Bowles is related on very high authority. "At this city (York) the General (Monk) staid five days, one of which being Sunday, he went to the Cathedral, and heard a sermon by Mr. Bowles, chaplain and chief counsellor to Lord Fairfax. This Lord visited the General frequently, and had much secret discourse with him. One day they dined together privately in the General's own chamber, while the principal officers and others were invited and entertained at a public table by his chaplain deputed for that purpose. This chaplain was Dr. Price. It seems that the night of the day on which the Lord Fairfax and the General dined privately together, Mr. Bowles was sent for by his Lordship to confer with the General, and they were in close conversation till after midnight, for about that time, Dr. Price entering the chamber to go to prayer, as usual, he found him and Bowles in very private conversation, the General ordering him to go out, but not to bed. After Bowles was gone, he called the Doctor to him, commanding his servant to stay behind. He took him close to him and said, 'What do you think, Mr.

was the first address of its kind in England, and they all signed it, and my Lord Fairfax amongst the rest, and they chose Sir Thomas Wharton and Sir John Dawny, after Lord Down, to carry it: but they made it their joint request to my Lord Fairfax that he would not only sign it with them,

---

Bowles has pressed me very hard to stay and declare for the King, assuring me that I shall have very great assistance.' The Doctor was startled at the boldness of the proposition."*

But although this distinguished and excellent man, in common with many others, was wearied with the numerous changes which occurred near the closes of the interregnum, and alarmed at the increasing power of the army, so as to feel very anxious for the return of the King, it would be an act of injustice not to state, that Mr. Bowles was afterwards very much dissatisfied with the character of Charles II. The following anecdote is sufficient proof of this, while it is abundantly characteristic of this intrepid Nonconformist: — Mr. Bowles, of York, had a great share in the Revolution. By his interest Monk's army marched from Scotland through Yorkshire without opposition. He was one of the ministers sent to Breda to hear the King at his prayers; and when he saw what impiety and sorrow was coming upon the nation, the prospect drove him out from London, and perhaps out of the world. The last visit he made in town was to his old acquaintance the Duke of Albemarle (Monk). He talked to him to this purpose: 'My lord, I have buried the good old cause, and am now going to bury myself. I never expect to see your Grace more in this world, and therefore must be so plain as to say, that you have had greater opportunities than any other person to make the King happy and the people easy; and all this you have given up for a feather in your cap, a little trifling honour; but the Lord says of you as he did of Coniah, "Write this man childless, a man that shall not prosper in his days, none of his seed shall prosper. This title will be mentioned with a reproach to yourself, and, after your son has had it a little while, it will go out in a snuff." That day the good man went homewards and was met at Doncaster by several of the ministers in that county, and, as one of the company told me himself, he bewailed what he had done; exhorted them to take care they did not make shipwreck of faith and a good conscience; and in a little time after died at York, delivering those words not long before his death, "Thou wast a God that forgavest their iniquities, though thou tookest vengeance on their inventions." When this last passage was told to the Duke it gave him a great commotion, and he spoke like a person in sore distress; "This was a man of God, and none of his words shall fall to the ground."—*Appendix to the Rev. T. Bradbury's* Εικων Βασιλική, *a Restoration Sermon*, p. 33.

* Drake's Eboracum, p. 173, as quoted in Mr. Hadfield's Report of his Majesty's Commissioners concerning Dame Sarah Hewley's Charities, p. 45.

as he had done, but write a particular letter to General Monk to the same purpose with the address, which he did at large, and sent me with it, and I am sorry I have not a copy of it; the answer to it from the General is among other letters in my Lord F's. study at Denton. The answer was that he referred all these things to the Parliament.

This letter my lord sent by me, for I was now thought a mettle horseman. I overtook Sir Thomas Wharton and Sir J. Dawny, both my kinsmen, at Stamford, and they were very kind to me; but I went before them, and delivered the letter to the General at Drapers' Hall in London. He received me extreme kindly, and thanked me for my journey to Coldstream. He ordered Mr. Clerk, his secretary, to write an answer, which he signed, and I returned with it to my Lord Fairfax.

After this, I may say, I went to bed and took some rest, having had little since I went into Scotland to this time, which was well for a Cambridge scholar.

Not long after a Parliament was called, and the King restored my Lord Fairfax, being one of the Commissioners sent to invite him into England: I attended him to the Hague. My Lord Gerrard was sent by his Majesty to bring him to Court, where the King received him very kindly, and Mr. Edward Bowles with him.

I hoped at this happy Restoration my fortune (as they call it) would have been made. I waited on the General at the Cockpit, and he made me dine with him, and placed me near himself at full table, and spoke of the service I had done. But the Duke of Buckingham, who married my lordship's daughter, being now restored to his great estate, would employ me in receiving his rents, and paying all his money, till my friends advising me of the danger, I gave it over, and thought I escaped well that I was not oppressed under the ruins of his fortune.

When he was Master of the Horse, the first equerry's place that fell, he recommended me to the King, who freely gave it me, and I served him faithfully to his death.

King James did not think me fit to be his equerry, so I retired to my friends in Yorkshire. In the year 1688 I went into Holland, on no other business but to wait on the Prince and Princess of Orange. The Duchess of Buckingham was godmother to the Princess, and sent a letter by me to her, which I delivered; and her Royal Highness writ one again to her Grace, and gave it to me for her. She was then at Hounsterdike, near the Hague. There we waited also on his Highness the Prince of Orange, who was pleased to ask me from what part of England I came. I told him from Yorkshire, where all prayed for his Highness's health and happiness. I presented my son Brian to him, about thirteen years old. He asked how many I had. I told him two sons more, and I hoped they would live to do him service.

I had a great mind to see my Lord Macclesfield before I returned. He was then at Groningen. We were to go by Amsterdam, and over the Zuyder sea. My son and I went by ourselves, and stayed three days at Groningen. About ten days after I left my Lord Macclesfield, he received a letter of the design the Prince of Orange had to come into England. Had he known it when I was with him, I had the honour to be so much in his good opinion, that I believe he would have acquainted me, and kept me with him, to come with the Prince into England. But it pleased God to order it otherwise, and I knew nothing of it till I came to London.

After this happy revolution, and King William established in the throne, all I desired was my old place of equerry, which my noble friend my Lord Macclesfield told the King of, and he made me his equerry, and I served him three years in that place, and it was neither the dangers, nor fatigues of the war, nor any attendance, could have made me uneasy in my place, which was my freehold, and an honourable employment at Court, with a suitable salary. But I thought it looked too like a soldier's life, which I was always averse from in myself or my children, though I might have stayed at home, and pleaded *Jus trium liberorum,* and none could have objected it to me; yet I thought the office of an equerry required a younger man, and a fair opportunity offering of being secretary to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Tillotson, my countryman and old friend, I embraced it, and he moved the King to let me resign my place of equerry, and have a recompence for it, which I was so unwise to do before I received what he promised the Archbishop to give me, and the recompence it is yet to come.

July 10*th,* 1699.

Should I write more it must be out of the Chronicle, and that is not worth my time.

Dec. 26.—The Speaker and members of Parliament then in town met at Whitehall, and then to the Parliament House, the soldiers shouting. Orders were sent to the forces under Lambert to obey the Parliament. They voted pay.

Dec. 23—Whitlock afraid for acting in the Committee of Safety.

The soldiers revolting from Fleetwood, some of the old members and Speaker gave orders, and were obeyed.

Intelligence from Haslerig that he was coming to them from Portsmouth.

Kelsy was all the while with Lambert.

Lawson and Zanchy's brigade declare for the Parliament. Whitlock's mem.

Jan. 6.—Letters from the Lord F., Sir H. Cholmeley, and Arthington, of their raising volunteers for the Parliament, and taking of York, and complaining of Lambert. Assessments upon the country. Thanks ordered.

Dec. 27.—Letters from Monk speak of an obstruction in the treaty, for that Haslerig, Walter, Morley, acted at Portsmouth by the said authority, and Lambert had desired a pass for his messengers. Wildman and Whitlock had consulted about a free state.

Jan. 2.—Order to remove Charles Stuart.

Jan. 4.—Letters from Monk in Scotland to adhere to the Parliament, and to march against Lambert. The messenger related that he met Lambert with fifty horse at Northampton; that all his forces and himself, my Lord Fairfax and his forces, and York, had all submitted to this Parliament.

Letters from Monk, owning his prevarications with Fleetwood for the service of the Parliament, and promising obedience.

Letters from my Lord Fairfax, Cholmeley, and Arthington, as aforesaid.

Monk's answer to the addresses was—That he was but a servant to the Parliament in a military capacity, and these things of a civil concernment were to be left to the Parliament.

Jan. 23.—Addresses by some for the secluded members, others for a free Parliament.

The position which Monk held at the head of the army in Scotland enabled him to render important service at this crisis, and to furnish (as one of his biographers says) a hand to the heart of the nation; but history has overrated, or rather misstated, his Mon claim to the glory of having been the Restorer of the Monarchy. His individual share in the Restoration, although more conspicuous, was less influential than that of Fairfax; it would be a grave error, however, and falsification of the elements by which both of them worked, to ascribe that event to either. The Restoration was the act of the people. Monk and Fairfax aided it, hastened it, and imparted stability to its accomplishment; but whether they had aided it or not, the return of Charles was inevitable. It is well to state this matter correctly. Names are sometimes suffered to take deep root in the traditions of nations, and to grow to such height and breadth as to overshadow the soil from which they spring. The man who is drifted by the current is thus made more prominent than the action of the waters upon which he floats, and History, instead of developing operating causes, becomes a mere chronicle of Hero-worship.

All obstacles to the Restoration of the Stuarts expired with Cromwell. He alone it was who had bound up and sustained in a coherent creed Puritanism and the popular faith. The moment he died the whole mass fell to pieces, and chaos, the most dire and dismal, supervened upon the system he had called into existence, and preserved to the end by the force of his genius. There are writers who assert that it was crumbling even some time before his death; but this is neither necessary to the illustration of the great historical fact nor true in itself. So long as Cromwell lived, Cromwell's government was safe; although as he drew near to the close, and the signs of his departure darkened the horizon, gloomy prophecies of the future must have loomed indistinctly and fearfully upon men's minds. There was no second Cromwell to succeed him: nature had broken the mould in which that one man had been shaped for his great task. The sceptre trembled in the hand of the feeble, amiable, indecisive Richard. All this was foreseen, and profited by. Of the advisers who clustered round Richard Cromwell, not one believed in him. They used him as an instrument for their own purposes. He was good for nothing more, and hardly for that, having an honest consciousness of his own weakness, which perpetually frustrated their designs.

The Army and the Parliament again broke away from each other; but their divisions were no longer marked by intelligible principles, as in the times of the Hounslow-gathering and the Agitators. The Army was divided against itself; the Parliament was convulsed into factions; Puritanism, loosened from its anchorage, was scattered and tossed over the tumultuous waves; new theories and speculative plans were launched from hour to hour; and, in the midst of these distractions, the people saw no hope but in the re-establishment of the throne. It was the natural refuge from the anarchy that was rapidly spreading over the country.

A long year and upwards was consumed in bringing about this result :—a year of confusion and distrust on all sides. Monk acted with the double-dealing caution which characterised his whole life. He waited upon events ; hazarded nothing till he saw clearly which way the stream ran; and then declared for the King when the whole question was narrowed to a choice between the King and Lambert. Clarendon accurately describes the process of conversion in Monk's mind in these words: —"It was the King's great happiness that he [Monk] never had it in his purpose to serve him till it fell to be in his power, and indeed till he had nothing else to do." *

The conduct of Monk throughout the Civil War and the Protectorate was that of a man who trimmed his sails with every fluctuation of the winds. Like Fairfax, he had strong personal grounds of animosity against Cromwell ; but, unlike Fairfax, he made his feelings and opinions subservient to his interests. It is impossible to trace the salient points of his career without arriving at a conviction that no great event in history was ever effected by a baser instrument.

We find him, on the breaking out of the war between Charles I. and the Scots, serving his sovereign gallantly

---

* Oxford edition. The real character of Monk, the aversion in which he was held by the Royalists themselves, his meanness, hypocrisy, and selfishness, were never thoroughly exposed until the publication of the whole of Clarendon's MSS. in the Oxford edition. To the suppressions, alterations, and interpolations by the original editors, (in no instance more conspicuous than in that of Monk), may be mainly attributed the false historical estimate which had previously descended to us of his life and character. Other works published within the last thirty years have cleared up many obscure passages in his career ; and the Memoirs of Sir George Mackenzie may be specially cited as covering him with infamy, by the full disclosure of his perfidy to the Marquis of Argyll.

(for, with all his faults, he was a brave soldier), afterwards distinguishing himself in Ireland, and next acting, under a commission from the King, as Major-General at the siege of Nantwich. By accepting this appointment, he at once pledged himself to the cause of the Royalists against the Parliament. At Nantwich he was taken prisoner by Fairfax, sent to London, and lodged in the Tower. His Majesty had so much reliance upon his devotion, that (scarce as money was in the royal treasury at the time) he forwarded Monk 100*l.* to mitigate the privations of his imprisonment. But Monk, nothing loth to avail himself of the royal bounty, was equally accessible to a bribe on the other side. Seeing that the King's cause was declining, he purchased his liberty by taking the Covenant * and a commission under the Parliament. His biographers have endeavoured to palliate this act of ingratitude and infidelity by the flimsy excuse that he never entered upon terms with the Parliament while the King had sufficient power to keep the field. It does not appear to have occurred to his apologists that, in setting up this excuse for his desertion of his party, they substantiate the charge in its worst aspect. He was faithful to the King so long as the King was able to maintain his ground, and abandoned him in the hour of his greatest need. Fine-weather loyalty was this of General Monk, who, entering prison as a martyred Cavalier, issues forth after a while at the head of a battalion of Roundheads!

---

* Monk's friends were so thoroughly ashamed of this act, that they endeavoured to evade the acknowledgment of it. Dr. Gumble, one of his own chaplains, in his Life of Monk, (1671), tries hard to shut it up in a sort of historical *oubliette.* "Being about," says this veracious Gumble, "to step out of the Tower, he meets with a great obstruction at the threshold—he must fall down and worship the Scottish idol of the Covenant,—a condition to which he, a loyal and true believer, cannot easily be brought to submit. He had many conferences, both with the clergy and laity, who were his fellow-sufferers in the Tower; but what was the issue of their deliberations, and whether he took the Covenant, I cannot with certainty affirm. This I know, *he loved not the remembrance of that troublesome firebrand.* This Covenant was imposed when I was a child, and was almost forgotten in the nation. A late act for removing it recalled the memory thereof. Balls of wild-fire should be quenched in silence, and cast out of the way of observation. Among a divided people water is more necessary than fire or zeal. Moses, that delivered the Israelites, was of a calm and meek spirit; and without controversy, nothing is so healing of the wounds of a nation as forgiveness and forgetfulness." This passage is given merely as a sample of the clumsy expedients to which Monk's admirers and parasites were driven in their attempts to make out a character for him. Gumble had even less excuse in affecting ignorance on the vital fact of the Covenant oath than most other writers, as he tells us that he was in Monk's confidence, and that he had the whole of that part of his life from his own lips.

And further, what becomes of this excuse when the same George Monk is discovered under the banners of Cromwell in Scotland, acting as Lieutenant-General of artillery against the Prince, who had raised his standard in Cromarty, in expectation that all loyal men would rally round him? It was at least one thing to enter the service of the Parliament when the King's cause was over, and another to render active service against its re-establishment. And Monk's service on this occasion appears to have utterly annihilated the prospects of the Prince, if his biographers may be believed, for they claim for him the whole merit of the victory of Dunbar. It is curious and instructive to note the flagrant sophistry into which these defenders of Monk are driven in their forlorn attempts to prop up his reputation. They assert that Cromwell took no measure of importance without his advice; that he it was who proposed to give the Royalists battle on the heights of Dunbar; that great opposition was made to the proposal; but that he charged up the hill, pike in hand, at the head of three regiments of foot, and decided the fate of the day. On the one hand they claim for him the glory of having destroyed the hopes of the Royalists and helped Cromwell (whom, they insist upon it, he secretly hated all the while) to the supreme power; and endeavour on the other hand to make the world believe that he did all this for the purpose of acquiring the means to promote the Restoration! He crushed the King's party to secure the confidence of the Commonwealth, in order that he might the more effectually serve the King's cause! It was a far-sighted scheme; a black-art calculation of the future, amounting to divination, and worthy of being chronicled next to that famous prophecy of Langbourne, a Romish priest, who, formerly visiting Monk in the Tower, foretold from the secret marks and lines in his face that, within a few years, he would be the greatest man in the three kingdoms.*

---

* Monk believed, or affected to believe, in these superstitions. We have no less an authority for the fact than his panegyrist Gumble, who would certainly have set nothing down concerning him which he did not believe likely to redound to his honour. Being at Dalkeith in 1657 (about six years after he had vanquished Charles on that very spot!), he told a friend, says Gumble, "that the King would be restored before the thirtieth year of his age [a near hit!]; and, being asked how he came to know it, replied, he had it from one that had cast his nativity. The other rejoined, that he had also heard something of a like nature, about the King's being restored by a *Monk*. Here some other persons entered the room, and the discourse was dropped." And upon such materials the historians of Monk rest the assertion that he had all along meditated the design of restoring the King.

For this service, Monk was left in Scotland by Cromwell in the capacity of Commander-in-chief. No man fitter to be confided in while affairs were prosperous. In the meanwhile, Cromwell ascended to the Protectorate, and Monk was employed in the Dutch war, which ended in a peace of which he openly disapproved. But his scruples on that point were appeased by his re-appointment to the command in Scotland, where he enjoyed a five years' repose in a country seat belonging to the Countess of Buccleugh.

During this period the surface of communication was apparently smooth and confidential between Monk and Cromwell; but there was an old grudge and a lurking doubt beneath, which sometimes gave a strange colour to their epistolary intercourse. With Monk, this secret discontent dated as far back as his liberation from the Tower, and his first service under the Parliament in Ireland, when he was censured and forgiven in the same breath for concluding a peace, from which Cromwell afterwards derived some important advantages. Cromwell's distrust of Monk may have originated at the same time. He probably never cordially relied upon a soldier who had joined his party and gulped the Covenant under such suspicious circumstances; and a short time before his death, in an ominously playful postscript to a letter, he gave Monk to understand that there was a whisper in the air which it was desirable to silence, or it might gather into thunder. "There be that tell me," said Cromwell's postscript, "that there is a certain cunning fellow in Scotland called George Monk, who is said to lie in wait there for Charles Stuart; I pray you use your diligence to apprehend him, and send him up to me!" And the thunder would have shattered the towers of Dalkeith if Monk had stirred a finger on behalf of the Stuart while Cromwell lived. Monk took the hint, and availed himself of every opportunity to testify his allegiance to the Protector.

How he continued to hold his command under Cromwell, and to keep in at the same time with the King's friends, is inexplicable; but no doubt of the fact can now be reasonably entertained. He was regarded all throughout as the most likely person to assist in the Restoration, whenever affairs should be ripe for a declaration. His instinct in gliding out of a falling house, appears to have been thoroughly appreciated on both sides; and at the moment when Cromwell was oppressing him with favours, the exiled Prince was privately assuring him that he possessed his Royal Highness's entire confidence. There is a letter extant from the Prince to Monk, written in 1655 (about two years after Cromwell had assumed the title of Protector) in which, with a judicious oblivion of Tower treacheries and Cromarty hostilities, he invokes that latent loyalty which he knew would be ready to show itself whenever loyalty should be again at a premium in the market. "*One who believes he knows your nature and inclinations very well,*" are the opening words of the letter, very insidious and full of a sinister meaning, "assures me, that, notwithstanding all ill accidents and misfortunes, you retain still your old affection to me, and resolve to express it upon the first seasonable opportunity; *which is as much as I look for from you.* We must all patiently wait for that opportunity, which may be offered sooner than we expect; when it is, let it find you ready; and in the meantime have a care to keep yourself out of their hands, who know the hurt you can do them in a good conjuncture, and can never but suspect your affection to be, as I am confident it is, towards your, &c." With consummate tact, Monk forwarded this very letter to the Protector, and thus made himself safe with both parties; for how could he so well serve the Stuart as by securing the confidence of Cromwell, or how more effectually secure the confidence of Cromwell than by betraying the Stuart? Whatever turned up, Monk was the man for the occasion.*

He pursued the same policy to the last. Richard Cromwell had no sooner succeeded to his father than Monk sent in his adhesion, and proclaimed the new Protector at the Cross of Edinburgh; and it was not until Thurloe and the rest had entirely broken down, and the army under Lambert began to waver, that he moved in the project for the restoration of the King. And his first steps were, as usual, so cautious as to be easily retraced.

---

* His panegyrist, Gumble, who defends him through thick and thin, unintentionally admits his treachery, but turns it over to the account of his zeal for the throne. "If ever," says Gumble, "he seemed to trespass upon that limit of loyalty it was like Hushai, *trying to get into a station where he might have the best of opportunity of serving his King.*"

The abdication of Richard Cromwell, and the complete withdrawal of the whole family into private life, (except the wife of Fleetwood, who, loading her husband with bitter reproaches for having been instrumental to their fall, is understood to have instigated him to the extreme measures he pursued in conjunction with Lambert,) cleared the ground for that open breach between the Parliament and the Army, which ended in a military revolution. The famous Remonstrance of the officers, in which they disclaimed all intention of setting up any single person in the supreme authority, and vindicated their own right as freemen, and the right of the people at large, to petition Parliament, being treated with contempt, and Lambert, Desborough, and others deprived of their commissions; the Army, as upon former occasions, undertook to redress themselves. Lambert, investing the military posts and avenues of Westminster, turned back Lenthall and the members, and took forcible possession of the House. The Council of State, which had risen upon the ruins of the Cromwells, was instantly abolished, and a Council of Ten (suggestive of uneasy historical associations) was nominated in its place. The movers in this bold proceeding justified their conduct on the ground of precedent, vindicated themselves in the name of public liberty (the much abused watch-word of all the factions at this time), and declared that they had no other end in view than the establishment of a free Parliament. The following letter from an officer, Captain Henry Watson, to the Governor of Inverness, enters somewhat fully into the case of the Army, and urges the principal arguments upon which they relied for their defence.

FOR HIS HONOURED FRIEND LIEUTENANT-COLONEL MAN, GOVERNOR OF INVERNESS, THESE.

HONOURED SIR,

I HOLD myself so much obliged by your civilities and other the sad occurrences that these late days have produced amongst us (though I had no other thing to write), to regret the miseries impending our poor nation. Surely, sir, had the common enemy only advanced his design against us all, I had satisfied myself with asserting the interest of God's people and the nations to my power. But this gate of Acheron, which Satan and his instruments have found out to divide the army, is the bitterest portion that ever I yet met with. We are far from news, so that scarcely any intelligence can (as the state of affairs now stand) reach us; yet, through Providence, many of the printed (and some written) papers of both pretenders have come to our hands, which have put us upon the strict search of our hearts, and not only that, but of the justice and equity of the cause of both parties, which we conceive to be the Parliament and army in England. It would be needless for me to repeat the circumstances; but the substance of the whole offence (as is pretended) is the stop put to the sittings of the Parliament by the army in England, and this I see from that letter of the officers of the army in England. I desire of the Lord that neither they, you, nor any honest hearts may be deluded by any specious pretences of any persons how great soever, but that they would consider (it is easy to word it in any matter though never so erroneous) that they (our friends in Scotland) have confessed, in the sixth query of the foresaid letter, that it is lawful to bear a testimony against this present Parliament (though they so strongly own them the supreme authority of the nation), in case they shall violate the liberties of the people. Compare this confession of theirs with that clause in the answer to the letter, from some officers at Whitehall, to the commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland, to be communicated to the officers of the army there, which sayeth, that they (the officers in England) having resisted the Parliament, have resisted the ordinance of God, not to be justified by the highest necessity. If these two be consonant I leave you to judge, or whether they allow not that in themselves for which they condemn our friends in England; and although they thus freely allow it, yet they show no law to justify it, nor is there any but that of nature (viz., self-defence and necessity, which is in a sense all one), though it hath been so often practised by us since our first bearing arms against the King (and surely none will say that this action in itself is now worse than formerly and to former governments, set up with as much freedom as was now this Parliament). And if we have sinned (as the aforesaid letter doth assert our friends have done this time) when we resisted the supreme authority of the King at first, and are now grown sensible of our sin, why do they not move for our return? For they have, as I said, nothing to plead but necessity for all, and the same reason in all points is for the one as for the other; but I request you, sir, consider that this (whatever the pretence may be) is not the real offence; for were it, they would not on any terms have granted it lawful to have borne a testimony against the said Parliament. It may be, to evade this, some will say it is only thereby intended some humble petition, or the like; but to that any man may answer:—first, it is said there to be against them, which was more than the modest expressions used by our friends in England, as may be seen by their papers, for which they were so used by the Parliament. And it might be queried whether those who signed that letter and expression, may not doubt, if the Parliament were in a capacity to resent things, whether that would not turn to as bad an account to them as the modest language of our friends in England hath done to them; nor will it be well for them to forget that they have said it, and so too implicitly lay themselves open to a snare. Secondly, the cause (by way of proviso) is there given why, against them, (viz.) if they (the Parliament) shall violate the liberties of the people; which shows plainly that the stiffest assertors of the authority of this Parliament cannot but own that which they so much decry, (viz.) bearing a testimony against the Parliament, if just ground be found for so doing.

The case is then altered, for it is not the resistance, but the cause and ground of resistance, that is, in truth (whatsoever is the pretence) the great offence taken, which I desire next to consider, and which indeed they do sufficiently clear in those former expressions, viz.—if the Parliament shall violate the liberties of the people. Now I heartily hope our friends in Scotland will not deny our friends in England to be a part of the people, yea, a substantial part of the free people of England (considering all things), and such as have deserved the benefits and privileges that others do enjoy; nor yet were they charged with any crime and convicted thereof, whereby they had forfeited their liberties: since it is so, was it not lawful for them to put up an humble petition to the

Parliament (although it might not have been pleasing to the Parliament) without being so used; not so much as once being heard, or called to answer for themselves, or convicted of their fault; may it not be queried whether ever such a high judicature did the like? may it not also be queried, whether that were asserting the liberties of the people, or no? may not a third query be to our friends in Scotland (if I were a fit person to query), whether they were well pleased when many of them were so served not long since by this Parliament? and whether they thought it consonant to liberty and privileges, or not? But I forbear to trouble you. I could insist also upon the calumnies which were cast on our friends in England, as if they were introducing a single person, when as nothing is more plain than the contrary (if we may believe their writings, for which we have as good warrant as for those on the other parties), though their traducers do labour to speak much to little purpose in decrying that which none (unless themselves) do assert; I desire not to say what such insinuations look like, whether a resolution to quarrel or not.

But, alas, I know not whether I should wish it were not too evident, that a spirit of revenge for former affronts (as some call them), did and doeth too much appear in these actions, and the machinations of evil minded men to deride and break this army, the bulwark and fence instrumentally of God's people in these nations, and to let in the boars of the forest into the Lord's vineyard; but what saith the Scripture, "He that breaketh a hedge, a serpent shall bite him."

I shall not be longer troublesome to you, though I could have much enlarged, only do make it my faithful and humble request to you seriously, again to consider these things, and let not any thing but truth and righteousness sway you. We all here, both officers and soldiers, are very unanimous, and do own our dear friends, the army in England, and do wish from our souls, that both you and all who have the fear of God before their eyes, would not fear to do so too: in the mean my prayer to God the Lord of Hosts, is, that he will, in mercy to us all, reconcile these differences, and all other betwixt them and our friends in Scotland; for whom, also, we have tender love and respects, and for the accomplishment whereof, is, and shall be, the earnest desire and prayer of

Honoured sir,
Your real friend and servant,
HEN. WATSON.

P.S. Sir, however you are pleased to accept this from so [humble] an instrument, let me request you to be alike towards me as ever, and let me have your regard as before.

Inverness, 1st December, 1659.

Many persons held, in common with Captain Watson and Lambert's officers, that the Parliament had, in the first instance, violated the liberties of the people, and so drawn upon themselves and the country the violent reprisals which followed. But the motives of the chief actors were not quite so clear and patriotic as Watson represents them to have been. It was suspected that their real design was to erect themselves into an oligarchy, which was only prevented from being carried out by the multitude of theories and divisions of opinion which at that moment of misrule distracted the public mind. Infinite were the varieties of projects of government which were thrown up to the surface in the agitation: a standing senate, to act in conjunction with the Commons; a popular assembly, and executive council; two popular councils—the one to debate and propose laws, the other to decide; and a sort of select assembly, in the nature of the Lacedæmonian *Ephori*, which should exercise a negative in the essentials of government;* and out of this medley of speculative forms arose Lambert, with the army at his back, concealing, under the pretence of re-establishing the Commonwealth, his secret design of seizing upon the supreme authority for himself.†

Such was the state of things—revolt and chaos on all sides—when Lambert appeared in the North, for the ostensible purpose of negociating with Monk, who maintained friendly relations with the provisional government, as he had previously done with that of Richard Cromwell.

---

* A sketch of these skeleton constitutions will be found in Ludlow, who professed himself willing to favour either of the two last mentioned.

† Fleetwood seems to have been the person who drew suspicion upon Lambert amongst the honest Republicans who were originally induced to join him in the establishment of the Council of Ten. Monk's tergiversations and extravagant protestations against Kingship awakened the distrust of Whitelocke, who detected, under all this parade of Republicanism, merely an excuse for delay, that he might the more securely prepare the way for bringing in Charles II.; Whitelocke immediately communicated with Fleetwood, and urged him to ensure his own safety, and that of his friends, by sending an envoy to invite the King to return. Fleetwood agreed to the proposal. In the meanwhile he had an interview with Desborough and others, and returned to Whitelocke, declaring that he had changed his intention, as he had been reminded, in the interval, that he was pledged to Lambert to do nothing of that sort without his consent. Whitelocke in vain urged upon him the peril in which he stood. He could do nothing without Lambert. "Then," said Whitelocke, "you will ruin yourself and your friends."

The resolution taken by Lord Fairfax, to place himself, on the 1st January, at the head of the Yorkshire forces, determined the movements of Monk. He had thrown out no sign of his intentions until he received the message from Lord Fairfax, which was delivered to him by his lordship's kinsman. And even then Lord Fairfax was in advance of him. The first great peril was encountered by the old general when, departing from Nun-Appleton in his coach, with a scanty cortège of ten horsemen, he went forward to raise the county of York. It was a moment of intense interest when this small train of gentlemen were met, on the highroad near Harewood, by a party of Lilburne's regiment, who questioned them as to whither they were going. To his lordship's house at Denton! They did not believe it; thought there was more in it; but out of respect for Fairfax, they let them pass. Had they arrested them, as they were well disposed to do, it is doubtful what effect this sudden advantage, on the threshold of action, might have had on Lambert's followers, or even on Monk himself. But the presence of Lord Fairfax acted like a spell upon the soldiers, and as he moved on towards Knaresborough, his appearance was everywhere hailed with such enthusiasm that Lambert's army was "routed without bloodshed." There is a fine reminiscence of the heroic spirit of his earlier days in the incident before the gates of York, where Lord

Fairfax, tearing, before their faces, the paper in which the Irish brigade protested against any government by a single person, immediately took the head of his troops, and drew them out into the fields. "He began to be another man," says Brian Fairfax, "his motions so quick, his eyes so sparkling, giving the word of command like a general, that I took heart, and I think could have charged with him."

To this bold movement of Lord Fairfax, and the great weight and influence of his name, may be ascribed the rapid success of the whole undertaking. His heart was in the cause; and from the outset he refused to appropriate to himself the honour of the enterprise, content with the nobler satisfaction of seeing it safely accomplished. The soldiers that came over from Lambert declared for their old general, and would have persuaded him to take the command, but, says Brian Fairfax, he "absolutely refused it, and bid them obey General Monk." When Monk visited him at Appleton, he offered to relinquish the command into his hands, but he again refused. The contrast between them is favourable at all points of contact to the purity, disinterestedness, and integrity of Fairfax.

In one peculiarity alone they appeared to have resembled each other. They were both silent and reserved. But that which was constitutional in the one, was the result of craft and cunning in the other. One who knew him well, and who meant to pay him the highest compliment in the character he drew of him, frankly describes the taciturnity and eternal acquiescence of Monk in the opinions of others, as a part of that machinery of profound deception by which he worked out his ends. "It would almost make one despise the pedantry of books and the discipline of schools to see a gentleman, bred amidst the noise of drums and trumpets, outwitting politicians, nursed from their infancy in the arts and habits of a civil life. The General's temper was well adapted to the business he had to conduct. He was of a disposition silent and reserved—one, that thought much, but said little, unless to those he knew and trusted. He had no spirit of contradiction, but would listen with patience and observation to all discourses, without making any cross replies; insomuch that he usually caused people to go away with a persuasion that they had obtained his assent to their proposals. Upon the whole, God did peculiarly fit him for the work he had to perform." Worthy Dr. Gumble, to whom we are indebted for this sketch, and who had not the slightest suspicion of the damage he was committing upon the fame of his hero, shows us to what uses Monk put his remarkable faculty of reserve. "It was an especial artifice of the General's, to seem to be persuaded to that which he really contrived; but he did not like that any should meddle in cases where he could do all himself; and whenever he was forced to employ others, as in these delicate matters, with an art beyond example, he quickly disengaged himself from the obligation." Another of his "especial artifices" was to appoint a general council of the army to whose opinions he pretended to defer, while he overruled them by a privy council of his own. "And now," says Gumble, putting on the simplest face in the world, "now that we are facing about in politics [approaching the Restoration], needs must we begin to use the old methods [for it seems these feints and tricks were familiar to Monk long before he employed them in the King's service]; so that the General had his *privy council*, which was this committee, and his *great council*, which was all the commissioned officers in the army. A pleasant sight it was to see this General at the end of a long table in a room full of officers, putting the question (as many as consent to the motion, *hold up your hands*;) and then an ensign making a long speech against it, who was but started from a corporal the other day; but all this and more did the General suffer for the good of all and *amor patriæ*." On his road to York, where he met Fairfax, the mystery deepened. "During the whole march, the General wrapped himself in silence and darkness, and though accosted by many great and worthy persons, gave only a general answer, that his endeavours should never be wanting for the welfare of his country! As he approached nearer to London, he grew more and more reserved, and his confidants took pains to refute the rumours that were circulated against him, and he did himself cudgel some fanatics in Yorkshire for raising a malicious report; all which was to lay asleep the jealousies of the Rump, who dreaded nothing as much as the return of his Majesty."

The habitual reserve of Lord Fairfax was expressly the reverse of this "cunning fence." There was no mystery or deception in it. A slight impediment in his speech imposed upon him the necessity of being rather a listener than a talker. In the council of his officers he rarely entered into discussion; heard all suggestions, and decided upon them. His decision was final. No man could mistake his purpose, or misinterpret his silence. The most conspicuous trait in his character was his soldierly openness.

It must be conceded to Monk that he had a difficult game to play; but he played it like a trickster. He held back so ambiguously in his interview with Fairfax, even after the latter had avowed himself, that the old General, who was apt to be too trustful rather than suspicious of others, entertained grave doubts of his honesty. He wore this mask to the last moment, to the perplexity of friends as well as enemies, and perilled all interests by his impenetrable dissimulation. Broderick, a devoted Royalist, who was in the secrets of every movement of the party, writing to the King, in March, 1660, speaks of his enigmatical conduct in these terms:—"Monk declared he would acquiesce in the judgment of the Parliament both as to King and Lords; another day he would spend the last drop of his blood rather than the Stuarts should ever come into England; but he is in good temper again the same night."* He alternately provoked and baffled speculation, evidently shaping his policy to meet any emergency, warily watching his opportunity, keeping clear of committing himself to either party, and ready to decide at the final extremity in favour of the strongest. He "called God to witness," in a letter to Lenthall, "that the asserting of a Commonwealth was the only intent of his heart;" entered into an agreement with Lambert, through his commissioners, that a new Parliament should be called, without Kingship, single person, or House of Lords, and then disavowed the agreement, under the pretence that his commissioners had exceeded their authority; he duped the Republicans by similar professions, exclaiming, in a letter to Haslerig, "As to a commonwealth, believe me, sir, for I speak it in the presence of God, it is the desire of my soul;" and he intrigued at the same moment with the Scotch Presbyterians, the council of officers, the late Parliament, with all parties, as has been justly observed, except the Royalists, from whom he kept studiously aloof. He dissimulated with the City and the Parliament, with the Scotch and the English; played off "Cretan against Cretan" in the exchange of hypocritical professions of godliness with Lambert's officers; and declared for the King only when it was no longer possible to avoid it, or, as Clarendon says, when there was nothing else to be done. He did the business,

---

* *Clarendon, State Papers.* Similar doubts are expressed by all Monk's contemporaries. "Many," says Pepys in the same month of March, "think that he is honest yet, and some or more think him to be a fool that would raise

---

himself, but think that he will undo himself by endeavouring it." Pepys, who knew him, thought him "a dull, heavy man,"—as heavy as a sphinx. Lord Sandwich used to speak of him as "a thick-skulled fool," who, like all fools, was capable of considerable mischief.

undeniably; but it was done, as honest Pepys observes, "*with some kind of baseness.*" There seems to have been a tacit understanding to let him manage it in his own way; because if he was opposed or thwarted, he had it in his power to ruin everything. Pepys tells us that Lord Sandwich was willing to do all the honour in the world to Monk, and to let him have all the credit of doing the business, although he had the meanest opinion of his sense and capacity. "I do believe," says Pepys, "that there is some agreement more than ordinary between the King and my lord to let Monk carry on the business [this was written in the beginning of May, 1660]; for it is he that can do the business, or at least that can hinder it, if he be not flattered and observed. This my lord will hint himself sometimes."

All contemporary authorities concur in representing the popular feeling as having set in so strongly in favour of the return to Monarchy as to assume the predominance of a national sentiment. This feeling at length became irresistible. Speaking of the meeting of Parliament on the 26th December, 1659, Mrs. Hutchinson supplies the following remarkable confirmation of the fact, which acquires additional weight from her unwilling authority:—"The manner of it, and the contest and treaty in the North between Monk and Lambert, are too well known to be repeated; the dissimulation and false protestations that Monk made, are too public; yet the colonel [Hutchinson] and others suspected him, but knew not how to hinder him; for this insolent usurpation of Lambert's had so turned the hearts of all men, that the whole nation began to set their eyes upon the King beyond the sea, and think a bad settlement under him better than none at all, or than being under the arbitrary power of such proud rebels as Lambert."* Sir John Bramston, who served in these parliaments with Monk and Fairfax† (who, he tells us, usually sat together), describes the Restoration as the result of the universal distraction, and of the common desire of the people for repose. "It was the Cavalier party," he says; "the loyal gentry, that brought the King home, in truth; for by their constancy to his interest, after plotting and contriving his restitution, though with the loss of their fortunes and hazard of their lives, together with the quarrels and differences amongst the great officers of the armies, and the general unsatisfaction of the people, tired with the oppressions and change of their governors, and the endless dividing into sects and factions, the whole nation was desirous of the King's return, without whom they saw there would be no end of war and trouble."‡

A very complete and succinct review of the "quarrels and differences" which produced all this discontent, and of the proceedings of Monk on his march from Scotland to London, is furnished by the same authority. The passage is valuable as a contemporary statement. "When

---

* Memoirs of Col. Hutchinson.

† He was returned for Essex along with Mr. Turner, afterwards Sir Edward Turner, and Speaker of the next Parliament.

‡ The Autobiography of Sir John Bramston: printed from the original MS. for the Camden Society.

Cromwell died, and his son was owned and received Protector by some of the officers of the army, though opposed by others, differences grew. Fleetwood and Desborough, great men, and allied to that family, yet thought themselves as worthy as Dick Cromwell; and Lambert, not less ambitious than they, meant to have the command from them all, and set up for himself; but yet Thurloe and the major part of Cromwell's councillors carried [it] for young Cromwell, alleging it was the old Protector's will; and he had possession of the title of Protector, and addresses came to him acknowledging him for such from most counties; yet many would endure no such person. By this means differences grew here. Monk commanded in chief in Scotland, and, by building forts and by garbling his army, had perfectly mastered that nation, of which Oliver was jealous, and in his life-time had sent for him home, which he still evaded and excused, as that he durst not trust the Scots. Lambert knew he should not effect his design if Monk stood; and Monk was certain to be destroyed if Lambert prevailed, or Richard stood. Monk first garbled his army, both officers and soldiers, that he any way had doubt of, or that he could not absolutely rule, and prevailed with the Scots to raise money for his journey into England; and, leaving the principal command of those forces he left behind with Colonel Morgan (a little man, but a very great soldier*), he, with a small army, but well affected to him, marches for England; and having by his great taciturnity concealed his design, and, temporising, fooled Scott and Robinson, two spies sent from the Rump to discover his design, he came by easy marches to London, refusing to come into the City until the other army was removed thence to other quarters, pretending the hazard and danger of quarrels if both armies should be mingled in the same quarters. As he came through the several counties, he was visited by all parties, the Lord Fairfax amongst others, who offered him his assistance, as did

---

* This belligerent little man was an officer of Lambert's, and had been sent to negociate with Monk; but, instead of returning in discharge of his mission, as a

---

man of a bigger bravery would have considered himself bound to do, he accepted a command from Monk, and remained where he was. Gumble is delighted with Morgan, above all with the *honourable* manner in which he betrayed his trust. "About this time, also," says Gumble, "came down Major-General Morgan, sent on the part of Lambert, whose heart ached at the thought of a war with the General, whom he always feared and never loved, to dissuade the latter from fulfilling his engagement. This gentleman, who had proved his skill and conduct abroad, both in France and Flanders, did the more willingly charge himself with the message, as he had resolved to join with General Monk at all hazards. Nevertheless, would he act like a soldier, and as a man of honour, deliver his message first; and then, if the General would not consent to his proposition, why, he was at liberty to join with him. [Assuredly Gumble's ethics singled him out from all mankind as the fittest biographer of Monk!] This little man was of more worth, at that time, to us than the seventeen score of officers that had deserted." Independently of his elastic morals, Gumble is not always to be believed on matters of fact: *ex. gr.* "With General Morgan came also John Troutbeck, doctor in physick and chirurgeon, whose company the General always loved, and who was very pleasing to all the officers of the army. He brought an assurance from the Lord Fairfax that his lordship would not fail to be assistant to the General; which message was kept very private, that his lordship might meet with no prevention." It was quite proper to keep the message very private, seeing that no such message was ever delivered. As we have seen, the message was conveyed by Brian Fairfax. Troutbeck was not the sort of man Fairfax would have been likely to employ on such an enterprise, nor is it, indeed, probable that he ever held any intercourse with him. This Troutbeck was a fellow of a low and dissipated life, out of the pale of all good society, and the boon companion of Monk in his latter days, when Monk sank into vulgar habits of debauchery. Pepys testifies to his qualifications: "The Duke is grown a drunken sot, and drinks with nobody but Troutbeck, whom nobody else will keep company with."

others, but would [take] none, and he promised a free Parliament to such as desired it. So soon as he came to London, the Rump sent to him to pull down the City gates. He took up his quarters at Mr. Wales, the wine-merchant; now he had been a vintner. Monk obeyed their commands, and did pull down the gates; and, understanding well what was designed against him by the Rumpers, who resolved to take the sole command of the army from him, and make him at most but the third part of a General, he marched of a sudden with his army out of London to Westminster. This made the Council of State, as they were called, to scatter and shift for themselves. Some ran quite away; and Nicholas Love, a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, who was to be President of the Council at that time, being come to Whitehall, and in their council-chamber, made haste and got into some hole, never heard of after that I could learn. Monk calls the secluded members to come to their places* (they were Presbyterians, who were thrown out of the House by Cromwell and the Army), which many of them did; and he appoints out of them a secret council. Amongst them was Grimston, Maynard, Swinfen, old Lenthall, &c.; but he had agreed with them to dissolve so soon as they had issued out writs for a free Parliament, which all men desired; and so writs were issued under the name of the Keepers of the Liberties of England."†

On approaching London, Monk drew up his army at

---

* A course which had been strenuously urged upon him by Fairfax.

† Autobiography of Sir John Bramston.

Highgate, and marched down Gray's Inn to Whitehall, where lodgings had been prepared for him. As he passed through the town he was greeted everywhere with loud cries for a "Free Parliament," which appears to have been all the welcome he received. That evening the streets were full of soldiers, the old troops (for whose removal Monk had previously stipulated) clamouring for their arrears, and being very reluctant to withdraw. Monk had hardly reached his lodgings when there came a crush of Commonwealth and Parliament people to visit him; and the Park was crowded with idle gazers, who were nothing loth to turn the grave occasion into an excuse for a little masquing and mumming. Amongst other pleasantries which were enacted in the Park that evening, Theophila Turner ran a race against Mrs. Pepys and "another poor woman" for a "pot of ale!"

At the request of the Parliamentary leaders, Monk proceeded to take his seat at the Council, of which he was a member, when the oath of abjuration was tendered to him. Here was a formidable difficulty, but his subtlety was equal to it. He did not exactly refuse, but hesitated and temporised. Others had refused, and he thought it desirable to confer with the Non-abjurers in order that he might proceed with more peace and satisfaction to himself. Nothing could be more reasonable, and so the test was postponed. Then came the thanks of the House, delivered by the Speaker, who, after dwelling upon the dangerous state of the nation, took occasion to congratulate the country on Monk's appearance. By this transparent manœuvre the Rump hoped to draw out his real sentiments. It was a mere waste of the threadbare formula. He baffled them at every turn; and left them more bewildered than he found them. He told them that on his march from Scotland the people had everywhere earnestly appealed to him for a settlement, and that what they wanted was a full and free Parliament, the determination of the sitting of the present House, and the re-admission of the excluded members. Lest, however, the eager listeners to this statement should suspect him of entertaining these opinions, or of entertaining opinions of any kind, he took care to add that he had answered all such demands by assuring the people that the Parliament was already free, and that if any doubt remained on that point he would remove it; that a resolution had been passed to fill up all vacancies; that it would soon be a full Parliament also; and that as for the excluded members, all people ought to acquiesce in the judgment of Parliament. The profound merit of this dark little speech was that it might be interpreted either way, for or against the Parliament, with equal safety to the speaker, and with equal fidelity to its implied purport.

If Monk had at this time entered with sincerity into the designs of the Royalists, evidences would have survived of a secret understanding with at least some of them; for a man who was in earnest in the cause would never have risked the danger of confounding the plans of his friends and allies by keeping them in a state of constant doubt and apprehension as to his own intentions. But Monk never said or did anything which he might not afterwards have taken advantage of, had he found it convenient to establish a Republic, restore the King, or, like Lambert, set up for himself.

The Rump, seeing that they could make nothing of Monk in the House, determined to commit him to an act which should render him odious out of it, and so bring him to terms that way. They accordingly ordered him to seize the prominent members of the Common Council (who had refused to pay taxes until the House was properly filled up), and to demolish the posts, chains, gates, and portcullises of the City. To prevent the possibility of being tampered with, they kept him up 'till two o'clock in the morning; but the citizens were as active as the Parliament, and waited upon him after he had got into bed. All to no purpose. His taciturnity was fatal to all remonstrances. The citizens went away considerably more puzzled than they came, stopping, no doubt, in little knots on their way home down the murky Strand to explore each other's thoughts with vacant eyes and vain questions.

The next morning, Monk was at the head of his troops in the Old Exchange, making prisoners of "eminent" citizens, and superintending the destruction of chains and posts. This was a description of work which went against the grain of his officers, who said that if they were to be honoured with the office of city-scavengers, they should like to begin at Westminster. Now this was exactly what Monk desired. He wished to be in with both parties, and this remonstrance of his officers (which, no doubt, he secretly encouraged) gave him an excuse to go back to Parliament, with a request that they would be satisfied with the pulling down of the chains and posts, and not require the removal of the gates and portcullises. But Monk's hesitation only made the Rump more obstinate than ever, and they sent peremptory orders that the gates and portcullises should be beaten to pieces. Monk returned to his work, and did it, but in such a manner as to throw the whole unpopularity of it upon the Parliament. Every fragment broken down was accompanied by muttered expressions of discontent, which quite won over the citizens to the Army. "At Newgate," says Gumble, who may be safely trusted whenever he has to record the duplicity of Monk, "the commanding officer took divers small pieces of wood—fragments of the broken gate—and presented them to his soldiers as the medals which had been promised them by Parliament, at the time they first appeared against Lambert." Thus, while he was strictly fulfilling his instructions on the one side, Monk was turning them to the account of his treason on the other.

He effectually succeeded in throwing the City into a flame. Returning to Whitehall that night he concocted with his officers a letter which they were to sign and send up to the House, demanding that writs should be issued to fill up the vacant seats, and a precise time fixed for terminating the session, in order that the people should have a full and free parliament. Before this letter could be received or read in the House, he marched into the City the next morning, and in the presence of an immense concourse of people in the Guildhall, announced that he had come to stay amongst them until he had obtained a full and free parliament. Shouts of applause rent the air, and every coach that lumbered through the crowd was stopped to ascertain whether it held Messrs. Scott and Robinson, the luckless Commissioners of the Rump, who, if they had been caught that day, would have been offered up as an appropriate sacrifice on the altar of popular frenzy. Then followed that frantic night which is known as "the Burning of the Rump." Bells were rung and fires lighted, and the uproar of the town was glorious to witness. Pepys happened to be going home through the streets that night, after a booze with his friend Sir Nicholas Crisp at the Star Tavern, and has left the following graphic account of the scene :—"In Cheapside there were a great many bon-fires, and Bow-bells, and all the bells in all the churches, as we went home were a-ringing. Hence we went homewards, it being about ten at night. But the common joy that was everywhere to be seen! The number of bonfires, there being fourteen between St. Dunstan's and Temple Bar, and at Strand Bridge*

---

* It spanned the Strand close to the east end of Catherine Street, where a small stream ran down from the fields into the Thames near Somerset House.—*Maitland*, quoted by Lord Braybrooke.

I could tell at one time thirty-one fires. In King Street seven or eight; and all along, burning, and roasting, and drinking for Rumps. There being rumps tied upon sticks, and carried up and down. The butchers at the May-pole in the Strand rang a peal with their knives when they were going to sacrifice their rump. On Ludgate Hill there was one turning of the spit that had a rump tied upon it, and another basting of it. Indeed it was past imagination, both the greatness and the suddenness of it. At one end of the street you would think there was a whole lane of fire, and so hot that we were fain to keep on the other side." This was on the 11th February, 1660. The next day, Pepys adds, that the citizens were so "open-handed" with the soldiers that most of them "were drunk all day."

Monk was now fairly lodged in the City, somewhere about Broad Street, and his wife joined him from Whitehall. Haselrig went to see him, but was so alarmed at the fury of the citizens that he was afraid to have a light carried before him lest the people should see him. To make the most of it, there was neither bravery nor honesty in Monk's proceedings on this occasion. The Rump was at its last gasp, and Monk merely went with the tide. The demand for a full parliament—making no stipulation for the re-admission of the secluded members, and carefully avoiding all allusion to them—was nothing more than that which the Parliament must have granted of their own accord, and which they had previously declared themselves not unwilling to grant.

It was a great smoke with very little fire. But it answered Monk's purpose, and kept him in his position, with a sudden accession of blind, riotous popularity.

The tidings of these movements were received in the North with undisguised dissatisfaction. Fairfax had urged the necessity of stipulating for the re-admission of the secluded members, as the indispensable preliminary step to a more decisive motion for the return of the King; and when he learned that Monk had limited his demand to the filling up of vacancies, and that Parliament had consented to issue writs for that purpose, he forwarded an urgent remonstrance to Monk, accompanied by a declaration subscribed by the principal gentry of the county. To that remonstrance and declaration Monk returned the following evasive reply:

GENERAL MONK TO MY LORD FAIRFAX.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

I HAVE received your letter, and therewithal a declaration subscribed with the hands of many noble and worthy persons, and affirmed by you to be the sense of the whole county and city of York. All that I am able to return you in answer thereto is to acquaint you, that the House hath condescended that their numbers shall be filled up, and that all the writs shall issue forth for the electing of members, and that there will be no such qualifications (as I am informed) as may hinder the secluded members from being chosen again, if the counties shall think fit to elect them.

This, though it be not absolutely and exactly that which you propound, is yet so near, that I cannot but have good hope it may give you satisfaction, and so much the rather because I find your desires not to be peremptory but alternative, and conclude from thence that though a third expedient be pitched upon as the most effectual for satisfying all parties, yet seeing it is such as answers your main end of having your representatives in the House, and doth not so restrain you with the qualifications, but that you may have the liberty to elect those men whom you would have now to return to their trust upon their former elections; that it is the implicit and virtual sense of your own declaration; and that it was rather forgotten to be expressed than purposely left out: and if in any small matters I shall be mistaken in my opinion, or you in your expectation, I make it my request to you that you would not for small matters run the hazard of that confusion which you seem, and have indeed just reason to fear; and you may assure yourselves that I shall at all times in my station further your just desires, and take all opportunities to show myself

Your lordship's very humble and faithful servant,

George Monk.

London, Feb. 18, 1659.

During this brief interval, when no man could foresee what would happen between morning and night, the country was agitated by the most alarming rumours. Of the nature of some of them we can form an estimate from the following letter :—

MR. J. FOLEY TO MR. SAMUEL LODIMAN, AT CLONMEL.

DEAR BROTHER,

I AM somewhat unexpectedly (though I hope providentially) called to Dublin in company of my brother (and sister, Pritt.), who, I thank God, is well recovered. My business thither will, I hope, succeed never the worse with so good a second. I shall be glad to receive your comrades thither, which I shall carefully observe. Let our friends know that the face of affairs in England is very ugly at present—I have so much from good hands thence. Differences increase and are very high among the best, and no doubt the worst will blow the bellows or lie as dried fuel ready to kindle. The difference between France and Spain, they lie concluded, at least referred to the Pope to decide.

Never was there more need for hands and hearts to be lifted up to heaven for wisdom, courage, and faithfulness to our pilots, lest they split the vessel on the rock of confidence or the sands of security. It is rumoured the Dutch have seized twenty of our ships; that Huson is made Earl of Maidstone; —gridce,* Earl of Essex; Lord Fairfax and his son-in-law, Buckingham, imprisoned in the Tower; but of these you will hear more by the next. It is like you had more news this week than we, because we were expected in Dublin; but Mabbot's letter tells us the beacon is fired, the Lord in mercy in his due time quench it.

I entreat your excuse for this scribbling, and if you think well, you may mention my name and what else your judicious genius shall prompt you to in yours to Dr. George and

---

* The name is illegible in the original.

Dr. Harrison; and begging your prayer and acceptance of my very hearty respects to yourself and consort, subscribe myself

Your most affectionate unworthy brother,
And humble servant,
J. Foley.

Carlow, Feb. 19, 1659.

My service to all our friends at your discretion as if named here.

On the 21st February, Monk appeared at Whitehall, and made a speech to the soldiers, recommending a Commonwealth, and declaring against Charles Stuart. He seems to have taken up every question according to the temper of his audience, and to have promised all things to all men. Every body went to him, the secret cavalier, the denouncing puritan, the open republican, and he undertook to do everything that everybody asked; no loyalty was too devoted, no treason too base for the flexible conscience of Monk. Even Gumble began to get a little ashamed of him at last. "Sometimes, I fear me," says conscientious Gumble, "he was forced to give assurances he could not keep; yet many that were led by their hopes, like that pagan who was for turning Christian if he might be Pope of Rome, were, nevertheless, to be cherished. But great men are not to be commended for nursing airy hopes in those who sue to them for favours. Much more praiseworthy was the frankness of William, late Duke of Hamilton, who used to tell suitors to their faces, and at once, if he disrelished their proposals, that he would not grant their prayers, but appear against them. All parties, as I said, visited the General; all sought to promote their own ends, and all went away laden with promises."

In the midst of the confusion, the secluded members are smuggled, or escorted, into the House by the soldiers who stand at the door,* and debates are going on about the dissolution and issuing of writs for a new parliament. There is a question, shapeless but palpable, rising up in the gloom, as to whose name these writs shall be issued in, and three names are muttered here and there: they are "Charles," "George," and "Richard;" and a shrill, sharp voice rings out, like a knell, "In the name of King Charles!" It is the voice of voluminous Prynne.

But the time was not yet ripe for so hazardous a declaration, and the writs went out in the names of the Keepers of the Liberties of the people, who, it soon became manifest were keeping them for the King. While this under-current (directed by the skill and perseverance of the secluded members) was flowing steadily in parliament, the soldiery were vehement in their outcries against government by a single person, the Stuart in particular; and Monk who only a few days before, had counselled them to this very clamour, was now compelled to exert all his influence to put it down. The desire for the restoration of the monarchy was growing too strong in the city and all over the country, and taking a shape too distinct, to admit of much further coquetry. On the 16th March, the House dissolved itself; the Speaker, without his mace, and the members after him, passing out of Westminster Hall with great glee, and conversing loudly about the King. At night there was a great bonfire made in the Exchange, and the people shouted out "God bless King Charles the Second!" Nothing was talked of in all companies, in the great houses, the taverns, and the streets, but the King. "All the discourse now-a-day," says Pepys, "is that the King will come again; and for all I see, it is the wishes of all; and all do believe that it will be so." It was a no less decisive sign of the altered state of public feeling, that the Mercers' Company set about preparing a statue of the King to set up in the Exchange.

---

* This proceeding was privately arranged by Monk at the very time when he was openly blaspheming against the Stuarts, and uttering the imprecation "that his arm might rot off if he had any design for the King!" Upon being expostulated with for bringing in the secluded members, he replied, "What is it I have done in bringing these members into the house? Are they not the same that brought the King to the block, though others cut off his head, and that justly?" His perjuries were unfathomable.

Fairfax had his share in this rapid progress of events. Immediately after he had made himself master of York, on the 1st January, he had been chosen by the Rump, one of the Council of State, and again on the 23rd February; and he was now elected, on the the 29th March, one of the Knights of the County of York, in the Convention Parliament, or, as it was afterwards called by the King, the Healing Parliament. The first incident which took place on the day of meeting determined the complexion of its subsequent proceedings. The cavaliers intended to elect Turner for their Speaker, but the presbyterians getting the start of them in the House, hardly waiting for the conclusion of the sermon in St. Margaret's church,* elected Sir Harbottle Grimston, and when the royalists came in they had the mortification of seeing Monk and Holles conducting the new Speaker to the chair. The object of this manœuvre was to deprive the cavaliers of the credit of taking the first step towards the restitution of the King, and so absorbing the honours and advantages of it to themselves. "The King," says Sir John Bramston, "and those in power with him, especially Hyde, the Chancellor, believed the presbyterians did the work, and accordingly that party, who had the money too (the cavaliers being generally poor), got all employments."

The House of Lords, after a sequestration of eleven years, met at the same time, and elected the Earl of Manchester provisional speaker, the same Earl of Manchester who had borne so conspicuous a part against royalty in the early days of the Civil War. Thus the presbyterians had the monopoly of all the parliamentary glory of the restoration. At first there was a little show of hesitation about members who had carried arms against the Parliament; but it was swept away by the overwhelming flood of loyalty which inundated both Houses. The legislature was now restored to its original form, and a conference was appointed to take place between the Lords and Commons on the 1st May, for the purpose of settling the limitations which should be imposed upon the King.

---

* Autobiography of Sir John Bramston.

Up to this moment Monk had worn that shifting mask which baffled the speculations of all parties. Nothing was certain but his repeated asseverations and appeals to heaven against the Stuarts. "Yea!" he exclaimed to Ludlow, "we must live and die together for a Commonwealth." Grasping Haselrig by the hand, he cried out passionately, "I do here protest to you in the presence of all these gentlemen, that I will oppose to the utmost the setting up of Charles Stuart, a single person, or a House of Peers." But as nobody believed one word he uttered, these solemn declarations only increased the doubts and fears with which he was regarded.

The resolution of the two Houses to hold a conference compelled him at last to throw off his mask. He saw clearly that if he did not restore the King, the King would be restored by the Lords and Commons, and he resolved to intercept them. There was not a scintilla of magnanimity in his conduct. It was a sheer piece of vulgar calculation based upon self-interest.

About the close of March, or beginning of April, Sir John Grenville had been intrusted by the King with letters to Monk; but the wary General, reluctant to confide even in the King himself, desired that Grenville should communicate with his kinsman Morrice, which Grenville refused twice, declaring that he could open his business only to Monk in person. At last Monk admitted him, heard what he had to say, and dismissed him with a verbal message (he was too cautious to write) to the effect that he was prepared to devote himself to the restoration of the monarchy. Now came the adjournment of the two Houses preparatory to the conference, and in the interval Monk ordered Grenville to deliver his letters to him while he was sitting in the Council of State. This unexpected proceeding forestalled the contemplated intentions of Parliament, and when they met they found the work already cut out to their hands. A message from the Council, with letters from the King, was in itself an acknowledgment of re-instated royalty, and the Restoration was at that moment virtually accomplished. By this cunning device Monk gained his object, and secured to himself the sole honour of effecting the return of the King, without condition or limitation—a mean treason against the rights of Parliament and the liberties of the People.

On the announcement of this intelligence town and country were again thrown into ecstacies. Guns were fired; bonfires were lighted; the royal arms were painted up over shops; bells rang out merry peals; the poor, crushed stage-players, began to peep out of their retreats in inns and guard-rooms; Killigrew was as busy as a courier flying up and down with secret despatches; sailors in dockyards danced hornpipes and got uproariously drunk; the harp was struck out of the flags, because the King did not like it; the Commonwealth flag was torn down from the shipping in the Thames and the Downs and all the seaports, and the King's substituted in its place; the fleet went mad with pendants loose, guns roaring, caps flying, and ships' companies shouting out "God save the King!" in thunders of hearty zeal and hilarious discord. The may-poles were hung with King's flags, and the people crowded round them in disorderly joy, drinking the King's health on their knees in the streets. The historians who attribute the restoration to Monk must have overlooked that previous condition of the public mind which burst out on the sudden into such phrenetic demonstrations of rapture and delight.

On the 18th May commissioners were sent by Parliament to wait upon the King at Breda, and attend his Majesty to England. Lord Fairfax was nominated at the head of the commission, which displayed in its composition the Presbyterian element still in the ascendant. Associated with him on this occasion were the Lords Oxford, Warwick, Middlesex, Hereford, Berkley, Brook, Herbert, Mandeville, Bruce, Castleton, and Falkland; Denzil Holles, Horatio Townsend, Holland, Cooper, Booth, and Chomeley. As the commissioners approached the little Court where the meeting was to take place, the appearance of the famous Captain-General of the Parliamentary Army drew down all eyes;* and of the persons collected upon that memorable day, not one, even to the new monarch himself, excited so much popular curiosity. Holles was the spokesman for the rest of the commissioners, an office for which Fairfax was disqualified by what Hume calls his "embarrassed and confused elocution;" and when he had concluded his address to the "dread Sovereign," in which he told him that the people were longing for him, and that all degrees, ages, and sexes, high and low, rich and poor, were sending up prayers to heaven for his return; that bonfires were blazing, and ordnance pealing, and honest men reeling with joy at the prospect of seeing him again; and when that stately ceremony, with such unaccustomed outbreaks of enthusiasm in it, was over, Fairfax requested a private audience of the King, at which, it is said, he asked pardon for all past offences, and made a full, voluntary, and sincere submission to his Majesty for the rest of his life.

---

* Wood.

This was all Fairfax had to ask—and this was all he received.

Contrast his bearing and his fortunes at this moment with the conduct and rewards of Monk. When his Majesty landed at Dover, he was received by Monk with the air of one who should cry aloud, "I did it—alone!" and his Majesty embraced him; and he was retained next to his Majesty's person on the royal and triumphal progress to Whitehall. His Majesty had scarcely time to collect his thoughts, when Monk, seeking his private chamber, to the King's infinite disgust at so early a display of corruption, placed before him a list of seventy persons (chiefly selected from his

Majesty's bitterest enemies), whom he desired to be appointed Privy Councillors. Nor was this flagitious proceeding much mended by Monk's subsequent explanation, that he had promised all these people his good offices with the King, but that he never imagined for an instant they would be accepted! Everything was sacrificed to his personal advancement—the interests of the party through whose agency he worked himself up to this height of power, and the honour of the King. And through such acts of baseness and duplicity he absorbed all the renown of the achievement of the Restoration; was made a Knight of the Garter, Master of the Horse, a Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, First Lord of the Treasury, and Duke of Albemarle, with a pension of 7000*l.* a year; and with these glories dangling about him he betrayed to the death, or to protracted sufferings in prison, many of his former allies, and feasted his eyes upon their agonies.* To the accumulated crimes of public and private treachery, violated pledges, and habitual dissimulation, he added, in the latter part of his career, the vices of venality and grossness, trafficking his interest for bribes, and surrendering up his faculties to a life of animal debauchery.†

---

* "Monk and his wife, before they [the Presbyterians who had been decoyed to surrender themselves] were removed to the Tower, while they were yet prisoners at Lambeth House, came one evening to the gardens, and caused them to be brought down only to stare at them, which was such a barbarism for that man, who had betrayed so many poor men to death and misery that never hurt him, but who had honoured him, and had trusted their lives and interests with him, to glut his bloody eyes with beholding them in their bondage, that no story can parallel this inhumanity."—*Hutchinson's Memoirs.*

† "Monk was ravenous, as well as his wife, who was a mean contemptible

The only reward Fairfax received for the service in which he had so often perilled his life, was the pension of 5000*l.* upon which he had retired, and which had been settled upon him by Parliament. He asked and obtained nothing from the King, but oblivion of the past. He served only under one authority and in one cause; and throughout the whole course of his victories—the most brilliant that had ever been won on the English soil—with almost unlimited power in his hands, he never sought a solitary advantage for himself or his family. No new dignities were added to his simple state; and when he saw the King restored, and the nation settled, instead of intriguing to exalt himself upon the accidents of fortune, he felt that the end of his patriotic ambition was fulfilled, and withdrew from public life. The historical contrast is complete between the characters of Monk and Fairfax. Midnight and noonday are not more strikingly opposed.*

---

creature. They both asked and sold all that was within their reach, nothing being denied them for some time; till he became so useless that little personal regard could be paid him."—*Burnet.*

* Hume, who cannot be suspected of having been predisposed in favour of Fairfax, describes him as a man "sincere in his professions, disinterested in his views, and open in his conduct." To the purity and integrity of his life he bears this further testimony: "Fairfax was a person equally eminent for courage and for humanity; and, though strongly infected with prejudices, or principles derived from religion and party zeal, he seems never in the course of his public conduct, to have been diverted by private interest or ambition, from strictly adhering to these principles." Brian Fairfax, who edited the "Short Memorials," and lived on terms of close intimacy with Lord Fairfax, speaks of him in these terms:—"So long as unfeigned piety towards God, invincible courage joined with wonderful modesty, and exceeding good nature; justice and charity to all men in his private life; and an ingenuous acknowledgment of his public error, with hearty endeavours to make reparation as soon as he was convinced of it, shall be esteemed in the world; so long shall the name of my Lord Fairfax be honoured by good men, and be had in perpetual remembrance."

After the Restoration was accomplished, and Fairfax had the happiness of witnessing the joyous ceremony of the coronation, the King riding a horse which the old Parliamentary General had consecrated to him, with a copy of extremely indifferent verses (the greatest men sometimes commit follies of this kind in their old age, and it is well with the good-natured veteran that he is chargeable with nothing worse!) Lord Fairfax retired again to his retreat amongst the pastures and orchards of Nun Appleton. But he had not altogether relinquished his ancient interest in the peace and stability of the kingdom; and we find him three years afterwards, when reports of plots and machinations against the monarchy were abroad, writing to his son-in-law to admonish him upon the course he ought to take on an occasion of such emergency. Buckingham at this time enjoyed the full favour of the Sovereign.

FOR HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

My Lord,

When I understood from my cousin Brian Fairfax of dangerous designs now in acting, I could not satisfy myself in hope they were but rumours, but should have waited on your lordship personally, to express a duty every one owes to the King and his country at such a time; but not able to, for want of health, I can pray only for a good success in finding out those that are the cause of these troubles, and wish I could contribute anything by my advice in it. But I hope, when you have taken a view of the forces, and put such officers over them whose discretion and moderation will more sweeten than exasperate the spirits of men, and find out the real offenders, rather than suppose them, these distempers will soon blow over, and bring those offenders to light which now escape away clear, under the shadow of some innocents, but suspected criminals. There cannot be too much care, I confess, in preventing these mischiefs; and I know nothing will do it better, than to have discreet and sober officers; as they are likest to do their own duty, so no honest and sober man but will be ready to do his in giving intelligence, advice, and assistance to them on all occasions, when those destroy unity by keeping up distinctions which both the King and the Parliament in great wisdom have thought fit to bury in oblivion, and this I doubt not hath caused many to seem enemies which are real friends. But I shall plead for no man, but leave such to clear their own integrity, which, if they do, your lordship will do a great act of justice, service to his Majesty, and honour to yourself, not to let them be destroyed and ruined by some men's private passions, under colour of doing public service. Your lordship may be a good instrument in accommodating many things by your presence here, which your own observations will best direct you in; and though I had not a talent, I could not withhold my mite from offering it for the peace of my country; and that your lordship might be a happy instrument of it, is the desire of, my lord,

Your Grace's most affectionate and humble servant,

THO. FAIRFAX.

October 14*th*, 1663.

There is but one letter more;* it is addressed to a lady (supposed to be Lady Clinton); and refers chiefly to the Duchess of Buckingham, who had now been upwards of three years a widow. She doubtless was not handsome, but she was distinguished for her virtue and piety, and bore the profligacy of her husband with such sweetness of disposition, that he is said to have conducted himself towards her with a civility amounting almost to tenderness.

GENERAL FAIRFAX TO ———.

MADAM,

WHEN I received your ladyship's letter, being then in the gout, and long time after lame in my hands, hath caused this late return of my humble thanks, in which you were pleased to let me know my daughter could not conveniently make a journey down this summer, which I did partly believe, though I should have been glad to have seen her; yet the disappointment of my expectation was with less trouble, receiving the intimation of it from so gentle a hand as your ladyship's. And now, Madam, having been obliged to you for so favourable a care as your ladyship has always expressed of me, I shall beg once more you would be so charitable to deliver me from some trouble I am in, to let me know whither my daughter is gone, for I have not heard one word from any but what your ladyship was pleased to write to Mr. Streeton, and it seems so strange to me she should go to Calais, a garrison only of soldiers, as I cannot apprehend a reason for it; neither can I think she would be so forgetful of me, without giving me some notice of her going out of the kingdom, since it was no secret to others, but that some sudden resolution occasioned it. However, in her more composed thoughts, she could not think me so unnatural a father. I should not be in doubts and trouble if I knew where and what condition she was in; therefore I beseech you, Madam, if you have heard any more certainly how they have proceeded in that journey, your ladyship will do me that favour to let me know it, not that I can desire it from your own hand,—it would be too great a trouble,—but by any other's you think fit. I did not think to put your ladyship to this trouble; but hoping you will pardon this digression, I shall return to my first intention, which was to express my hearty acknowledgment of your ladyship's favours, and the great reason I have ever to be,

---

* This letter is the last in the handwriting of Lord Fairfax. A letter published in the Memoir (p. 149) is mentioned as the last record of his hand; but this (addressed probably to the same person) has been discovered since.

Your ladyship's most affectionate and humble servant,

T. FAIRFAX.

August 6th, 1670.

Madam;—I pray you present my affectionate service to my sister Worsman. My Lady Penelope Langham is early every morning drinking the waters. I wish her much good in them, and have hope, since I cannot write to her, to have the honour to see her at Appleton.

Lord Fairfax died on the 2nd November, 1671, little more than twelve months after the date of this letter, at the age of sixty. Hard service had done its full work upon him, and the last seven years of his life were years of physical suffering: old wounds, racking his frame with torture at all changes of the weather, and rheumatism, gout, and the complicated infirmities that grow upon incessant pain, depriving him latterly of the power of moving abroad. But his mind was clear and healthy to the last.

He was buried in the south aisle, close to the chancel, of Bidburgh Church, near York; and the following simple epitaph was inscribed over his grave:—

HERE LYE THE BODIES OF THE RIGHT HONORABLE THOMAS LORD FAIRFAX OF DENTON, BARON CAMERONE, WHO DIED NOVEMBER 2ND, 1671, IN THE SIXTIETH YEAR OF HIS AGE. AND OF ANNE HIS WIFE, DAUGHTER AND COHEIR OF HORATIO LORD VERE, BARON OF TILBURY. HE HAD ISSUE, MARY, DUCHESS OF BUCKINGHAM, AND ELIZABETH.

MISCELLANEOUS LETTERS.

MISCELLANEOUS LETTERS.

LADY VAVASOUR.

[From Lady Vavasour, the wife of Sir Thomas Vavasour, to her uncle, who had embraced the Roman Catholic faith.]

FOR MR. HENRY VAVASOUR AT HAZELWOOD, THESE.

UNCLE,

I DO not more wonder at the change, than lament the loss of your soul, so far hath the former seeming goodness (however then dissembled) won upon me: had you been always what now you are, I had at this time spared my pains, and only deplored your condition in the general with silence, but to fall from so good a God that brought you out of darkness to the light of His holy truth, forceth me to discharge the part both of a true friend and Christian, in telling you what St. Paul saith to such, that there remains nothing but a certain fearful looking for of judgment; often have you desired my counsel when I was more fit to take than give it you, but how acceptable it may be to you now I know not: I am sure it could never have been more needful: which shall be to desire you as you tender your chiefest good, first to consider who you have forsaken, who you have wronged, and who must suffer for it at that great day of accounts without repentance; and then in a humble and penitent manner begging pardon, and His grace for the future, think it no shame to return. It is never too late to do well; that cannot be done too soon that may be done at all times; can you now think that piety to worship an image which heretofore you so justly counted superstition and idolatry; or is it possible you should venture your soul in that fine religion made by man, which formerly you have said you durst not (in it) hazard one of a thousand. Alas, think on these words; they were your own, which will, I fear, one day rise up in judgment against you. God, of His infinite mercy, in His due time, give you grace to see your error, and call you home. I am not yet so much become your enemy as not to heartily wish and pray for this; nor so little mine own friend (though you have made so great a breach in that friendship I did once esteem), as having obtained it, not to think myself happy in the title again (not now, but as formerly I have been) of

Your most loving and affectionate niece,

Ursula Vavasour.

March 3rd, 1643. [*N. S.* 1644.]

HENRY, LORD FAIRFAX.

[Henry, Lord Fairfax, who succeeded to the title on the death of the Parliamentary General, was the grandson of the first lord, and son of the Rev. Henry Fairfax, of Oglethorpe, by Mary, daughter of Sir Henry Cholmeley. He died in 1685 and was succeeded by his son Thomas.]

FOR THE LADY FAIRFAX, AT DENTON, YORKSHIRE.

MY DEAR HEART,

I BLESS God I came safe to London the other night in company of my cousin Palmes and my sister, who opportunely hired a coach at Stamford, otherwise our stay had been longer at Whisendine. My brother Sherrard has almost in this short time cured me of my lame leg, by breaking a vein in both my feet, and a plaster he applied. The weather is so excessive hot and being weary with my journey, I have not seen any friends. Last night Brian placed me so conveniently in St. James's Park as to see his Majesty, the Duke, and Prince Rupert, and tomorrow am to kiss his Majesty's hand, when I have gotten clothes fit to attend him, being a plain stuff suit. In my next, I hope to give some satisfaction of my proceedings in the business I came for. Tom craves your blessing; my brother, sister, and Tom Fairfax present their service to you. God bless you all.

Yours,
HENRY FAIRFAX.

Musse, May 19th, 1677.

FROM HENRY, LORD FAIRFAX, TO LADY FAIRFAX.

MY DEAR,

I HAVE met with Major Wildman, who has been in the country some time, but he will not admit of the enrolment of the deed, without advice of counsel; and this day I hear that my cousin Rokeby came to town from his brother's, two or three miles off, so that I hope for a friend as well as counsel to advise me what is best to be done. All our friends are well; his Grace is still in custody; my brother and sister present their service, and your son his duty. God bless you all, and send us both speedy and happy meeting.

Yours,

HENRY FAIRFAX.

June 19*th*, 1677.

FOR THE LADY FAIRFAX, AT DENTON, YORKSHIRE.

DEAREST,

I MET yesterday with my cousin Rokeby, and got him and Serjeant Pemberton to make their appointment according to Major Wildman's desire, which is to be tomorrow night, so as I shall know what to do; for I am weary of this place, longing to be with you, that we enjoy one another in quiet, retired from the vanities of this evil world. The Duke of Buckingham was out for two days to see his building at Clifden. By that time it 's finished, he will have little land to support it. My brother and sister present their service to you, and your son his duty. Yours,

HENRY FAIRFAX.

June 26*th*, 1677.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LADY FAIRFAX AT DENTON, NEAR OTLEY, IN YORKSHIRE.

MY DEAR,

I WAS weary with a tedious and troublesome journey which made me omit the last post, but caused Bar to let Mr. Rymer know that you might hear we were all well. I came in time to see Tom, who was commanded to Colchester to see his men disbanded yesterday and this day, he is to return upon Monday or Tuesday: there has nothing been done as yet in Parliament until this day, we having now agreed upon our Speaker, Serjeant Gregory of Gray's Inn; upon Monday we are to present him to the King. It's said by several, your friend, our Lord Treasurer, dare not stay the storm that is coming upon him, all men's mouths being open against him; besides the generality of both Lords and Commons, there is several will come in to clear further this abominable plot. You may have heard the Duke of York was gone beyond the seas before I got to town, and more will quickly follow. I have seen none of your acquaintance as yet; upon Thursday I had the honour to kiss his Majesty's hand, who was pleased to ask me how I did, and told me he was glad to see me. I fear we shall have so much work upon our hands as we shall not be dismissed this two months; God send us a good meeting, and bless and keep you all. Yours,

H. FAIRFAX.

You may direct yours to me at the House of Commons.

March 15*th*, 1678. [*N.S.* 1679.]

THE RYE-HOUSE PLOT.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE, THE LORD FAIRFAX, AT DENTON.

MY LORD,

I VERY late last night received a letter from Mr. Secretary Jenkins, wherein he gives me notice that they had information that Richard Goodenough and Richard Nelthorpe, barristers-at-law, who were deeply engaged in the horrid plot of intending to murder his Sacred Majesty and his Royal Highness, and, amongst others, are mentioned in his Majesty's proclamation to be apprehended, were seen near Doncaster in their flight northwards. I shall therefore desire your lordship that you will use your utmost endeavours to find out these two persons, who, flying that way, may possibly lurk in these parts. I am likewise further commanded that the officers of the militia in that Riding may be in a readiness, if there be occasion; and therefore I shall desire your lordship that you will give notice to those of your regiment to be so, that if I shall receive any farther directions to draw them together for his Majesty's service, they may be in a readiness to obey such commands as I shall receive from above; and that your lordship will have a diligent and watchful eye upon the motions of that party, and from time to time give me notice of what you observe in these particulars. And if your lordship shall have any grounds to suspect any persons in this conjuncture as dangerous, be pleased to give me notice speedily thereof, and to your lordship directions shall be sent for disarming them according to law, by, my lord,

Your lordship's most faithful humble servant,

BURLINGTON.

Londesburgh, 29th June, 1683.

BRIAN FAIRFAX.

[Brian, who writes the following letters, was the second son of the Rev. Henry Fairfax. He married Charlotte Cary, the only daughter of Sir Edmund Cary, by whom he had five children.]

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HENRY LORD FAIRFAX, AT DENTON.

Dear Brother,

It would be a great satisfaction to me to hear often from you by any hand. I have escaped a very troublesome attendance on his Majesty at Newmarket, by his being there before April; I once thought it a great pleasure, but I find the taste of pleasure alters with age; and I thank God those youthful ones are as far outdone by the delight I take in a book and a friend, and now and then a solitary walk, as ever I did in the pleasures of a hobby-horse. The weather hath been exceeding cold, and that place hath neither shelter abroad nor fire within doors, but as long as the King loves it, and hath his health, all is well. It is a sign some courtiers want no money, when Bab. May hath lost 2000*l.* on a horse called Dragon against Why-not. I dined yesterday with two good friends of yours, my Lord Clare and Maxfield: my Lady Duchess is kindly remembered to you; she is resolved never to sell her life estate; my Lord Clare's advice is that you look after your title to Appleton and Bolton as heir in tail. I assure you again and again from those who have best reason to know, that no recovery was suffered upon it, and I am sure my Lady Duchess nor the Duke will take it ill to have you put in your claim at this time. I wish I could tempt you to London by a promise to return with you into the country, for I am very desirous to enjoy as much of your company as may be, and if you have the same desire, I doubt not, but God in his providence will order it for our mutual comfort and satisfaction. We expect the King on Saturday next. We pray for the success abroad of the King of Poland against the Antichristian, and of the Prince of Orange against the most Christian Turk, and that God would unite the Protestant interest to defend itself against all Popish designs at home and abroad.

Your ever loving brother,

BRIAN FAIRFAX.

March 18*th*, 1683. [*N.S.* 1684.]

THE HONOURABLE BRIAN FAIRFAX TO HIS NEPHEW, LORD FAIRFAX.

MY LORD,

THE gentleman whom I desire to see you, Sir William Ramsden, Bart. of Byrom, near Ferrybridge, one who has a great respect for our family, and I desire you will show as much to him in an entertainment at your chambers; he is a person of a plentiful estate, and you would find a hearty welcome at his house, where I should be glad to find you in your way to Denton, the sooner the better. Was I at Woodstock I would see Oxford once more. Sir William Ramsden's horse won a plate on Clifton Inggs, near York, a second on Lincoln Heath, a third near Doncaster, where he double-distanced Watson's horse, called Farmer, that won the golden cup near York. If he gets not that at Woodstock, he will run them hard. Was I there I would lay a wager on his side; so give me an account of the match. If you would have a pad between fourteen and fifteen hands high, my cousin, Thomas Fairfax, of Menston, has one in Denton Park, five next grass, out of Turk, and the dam got by one; by that time he is seven he will be size enough, having good limbs. Mr. Banks has a mare of the same age, so bred too, near fourteen hands. He having orders to destroy the deer, cannot you prevail with my lady to let you come now to Denton to view the estate? Denton, Askwith, and Bilbrough might be considerably improved. I do not know but they might be raised double the income; estates in the neighbourhood, though not near so good land, are let considerably more; if you prevail to redeem all or else the aforesaid places; only you may then have a park as well as other gentlemen in the country. Many a fine horse has been bred in it in my great-grandfather's, my father's, and your father's time; the first bred his for the great saddle, he being a soldier. If you never did read my Lord Thomas Fairfax's (the General's) Memoirs, they are to be had at Richard Chiswell's, at the Rose and Crown, St. Paul's Church Yard, London. Mr. Thoresby tells me in his letter, that you were a subscriber to his book as well as I. Both the wings of Appleton house are down. Writings to it and Bolton, showing your title, are at Denton. Those two places are also reckoned easy rented. The tenants' leases at Denton and there are expired; a 20,000*l.* fortune would redeem Appleton and Bolton; that and the money for that in Virginia, would raise you to purpose, and if you get any thing by the wreck (to which your father was a subscriber) be kind to your brothers and sisters. I hope, I shall have my charges to London and Dublin allowed. Once more, I may put you in mind (in case of a journey to Denton) of getting a rental of the estate of Mr. Banks, the names of the lands, pasture and arable, the number of acres to each piece and in what tenants' hands the lands are. The neighbouring gentry will inform you in this affair; for instance, Mr. Banks told me when last at Denton, that Mr. Booth of Askwith pays 12*l.* for his farm, which might be let at 30*l.*; they may be so slothful there that they thrive no better for their too easy rents: make them take leases, or go off; at your price they will bestir themselves and get money and mend themselves. As you did not answer my two last letters, do not use me so for the future, since your welfare is heartily wished by,

My lord, yours,
BRIAN FAIRFAX.

September 5th, 1712.

LETTER OF BRIAN FAIRFAX, ESQ. TO CHARLES FAIRFAX, ESQ., HIS SON, AT CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD.

I THANK you for yours, and will not forget to answer it. You must excuse this scribble considering tonight.

I went to Bromley on Monday, and returned on Wednesday, my lord and I being summoned to appear at St. James's, at eight this morning; and from thence we attended the Queen in procession to St. Paul's, though I had rather sung Te Deum with St. Peter. All the Lords were ordered to come with coach and six. The Queen had eight, adorned with red and white roses, York and Lancaster. It was twelve before the Queen came. The Te Deum made a great and joyful noise, to be heard at Paris. The Prince and Queen sat on a throne at the entrance of the choir, the lords on the right, the ladies on the left, the Lord Mayor east of the ladies.

We had Purcell's Te Deum, and two anthems of Deborah and Sisera at the brook Kison. It put me in a poetic humour, dear, to this tune:

> Cæsar pontem fecit ligneum in Rhenum,
> Trajanus marmoreum in Danubium,
> Dux noster osseum—
> Victis Gallis et Bavaris,
> Certe magnus Imperator,
> Et
> Pontifex Maximus
> Ludovicus, olim magnus nunc parvus,
> Frustra clamat in somniis:
> Redde Tallarde, redde legiones.*

It was four before we had done. The Dean of St. Paul's preached a panegyric on the Duke of Marlborough. I supped with the Bishop of Rochester, at Mr. Barnes's. Let me know whether I must send you a winter suit from London, and money to buy one there. God bless you.

Sept. 7th, 1704.

---

* Cæsar built a wooden bridge over the Rhine, Trajan a marble one over the Danube.

> The French and Dutch being conquered,
> Truly the great Emperor,
> And the Pope
> Lewis, formerly the great now the little,
> In vain cries out in his dreams:
> Give me back, Tallarde, give me back my legions.

[In this translation, which is taken *verbatim* from the letter, the reader will perceive that the third line of the original is omitted. The circumstance would be hardly worth noticing, but for an obscurity in the hand-writing of the omitted line, and an error in the punctuation, arising, no doubt, from haste. The third Latin line is given above as the author appears to have intended it, and by the substitution of a comma for a full stop at the close of the second, the sense of the whole is rendered intelligible. The translation of the succeeding passage does not convey the author's own meaning very clearly. Instead of alluding to different persons, as implied by the translation, he evidently meant to heap the titles of Pope and Emperor in derision on the vanquished Lewis.]

FOR MR. CHARLES FAIRFAX, STUDENT OF CHRIST CHURCH, IN OXFORD.

Dear Charles,

I hear the Dean is come, and I will take the first opportunity of waiting on him and thanking him for his favours to you, which I hope you will study to deserve, as I will to acknowledge. The Bishop of Rochester is come this night for all winter.

It has pleased God to take to Himself, out of a painful life, the Duchess of Buckingham, who died October 20th, at four in the morning, at her house, near the Mews, at St. James's, in the sixty-sixth year of her age. She was an example of virtue and piety in a vicious age and a debauched Court; and, in all her pains and sickness, of great patience and Christian courage. She had no estate but what was part of the Duke's, and goes to them that purchased the lands, and what she had for her life of her father's estate in Yorkshire, which comes to my Lord Fairfax. What she had more was little or nothing, which I suppose she has given to my Lady Betty Windsor, who attended her in her sickness. I suppose she will be buried by her husband in the Abbey. My Lord Fairfax went, the day before her death, to Leeds Castle, and Brian with him, intending, the next week, both of them for Yorkshire, which he will now do, to take possession of what comes to him by her death, about *700l.* or *800l.* per annum.

This I thought fit to let you know, and how it concerns us all to trust in God's providence, and not in the favour of great persons. David tells us, men of high degree are a lie (they promise and never perform), and men of low degree are vanity, that is, have nothing to give. *Faber quisque fortunæ suæ.*

God bless you.

Brian Fairfax.

October 21*st*, 1704.

LADY FAIRFAX.

[Lady Fairfax, of Leeds Castle, was the daughter and heir of Lord Colepepper, and was married to the fifth Lord Fairfax, who died in January 1710. The following letter relates to the sale of the Fairfax property, into which her ladyship and her mother forced the young peer for the purpose of redeeming the Virginia estates. It contains some very curious particulars hitherto unpublished, concerning the death of the fifth Lord Fairfax. From the professions of service in this letter, and his employment by the ladies in the management of their affairs, it may be suspected that Clayton was the steward through whose roguery or ignorance the Yorkshire estates were sold for less than the value of the timber.]

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LADY FAIRFAX, LEEDS CASTLE,
NEAR MAIDSTONE, KENT.

I am honoured with your ladyship's letter of the 12th instant, and omit nothing that I can think is for your ladyship's, or your son's, my lord's interest; and for the estate sold to Alderman Miller, I am assured from a good hand, that the same is worth eight thousand pounds more than he gave for it: of the purchase money three thousand five hundred pounds is in his hands unpaid; though my late lord made out orders to some people for the same, and he is to allow interest for the same at five per cent. till paid. I have a friend going to York, who hath been well informed in a great many of my lord's affairs, and for a small matter, if your ladyship would please to disburse it, or order me to do it, I will get him to go upon the estate and get me a particular or rental of it, and what timber hath been cut, and your tenants' names, informed well of; about three weeks hence he goes. It was let at near a thousand a year when sold, but worth fourteen hundred, as he was informed in Yorkshire. I cannot learn any other reason Williams had in taking my lord away, but to have the better opportunity of plundering him when dead, which he saw would soon happen; he was removed the 13th of December and died the 6th of January. He had several notes of Sir Francis Child's and a bag of guineas before him a quarter of an hour before he left Pall Mall, and a porter carried him from the chocolate house in the same street, from Mrs. Margett, forty pounds, and as no creditors were paid at his last lodgings, or knew where to find him, Williams or his man took his monies when he was dead or dying. The servant was a creature of Williams's and one that he helped my lord to, and as for Anthony that went away, nobody greater than Williams, and he and his interest he will prefer preferable to that of your ladyship and my young lord's. He lives with Mr. Brown, a merchant; he is not paid, but hath a bond as I hear; he always held in with Williams, so little good will be got by asking him any questions. Mr. Meale your attorney, I spoke with this night, and often see him upon your ladyship's account.

There are some papers of moment relating to the Virginia estate in the hands of a certain person I know, which will be of use, and upon an order from your ladyship I presume he will deliver them. That Mr. Perry is a sharp man, and I fear you are but very indifferently dealt with by him and his friend in Virginia, and if I don't help you to a chapman for it (which you shall soon hear further from me about), I doubt not of putting your ladyship and your lady mother in a way to make more of it yearly than hath been made since Mr. Perry and his friend's management thereof. In whatever I can be serviceable to your ladyship and good family, please to depend on my hearty endeavours, and that I am

Your ladyship's

Most obedient and most humble servant,

R. Clayton.

London, Feb. 23*rd,* 1709. [*N. S.* 1710.]

[In the next letter it appears that her ladyship has been in London "managing" the business she has set her mind upon, and that she is also "managing" her son, by setting before him the example of his father, whom she accuses of destroying his estate. The moral of all this motherly "management" is seen in the subsequent exile of the son.]

LETTER FROM LADY FAIRFAX TO HER SON, LORD FAIRFAX.

Dear Son,

Last Wednesday by the post I received yours, and I do think you are in the right to put off your journey of coming here for a while, since your cousin George Sayers is so near coming into England as next January, which will now be soon here; so that I shall not expect you till he comes. You do very well to make your cousin that compliment, for he may be your friend in many regages hereafter, as his father is now trying in everything he can think to do for us both. Pray let me hear of you once a month, and I will do the same. I wrote to you last —— day, just as I went out of London, so I suppose you will have that letter. I am now just got home, very weary with a great cold. I never had so sad a journey in all my life; the ways are most terrible with all the wet weather, so that when you come now the days will be longer, and perhaps the ways better, then it will be pleasanter for you; so take it altogether, it is better so your civility shall not be lost, for they shall know it at Pett's, I do assure you. I love to see you judge well. I have done all I can in business in London now; but it is all very bad. Your father hath destroyed all that can be for you and me both; but I will do all that is in my power to get something again, and I do hope you will deserve it of me in time. I thank you for your news you write me; that story of the Scotch lord is very diverting. I hope there will soon be a peace. I see no other reason than to believe it where I have been; but many in London are against it. I beg you to keep close to your studies; now is your time to advance in that matter. Colonel Cage is a great and entire friend to me, and you have reason to respect him. Likely his son comes to Oxford next spring he tells me. Adieu, dear son. I am

Your loving mother till death,

C. Fairfax.

Your sisters present abundance of service of you. Little Robin is well, and a brave horseman. My service to the Provost. I will write to him speedily, as soon as I can.

Leeds Castle, Dec. 15*th*, 1711.

ROBERT FAIRFAX.

[The writer of this letter appears to have been the Robert Fairfax who succeeded William Fairfax of Steeton. He was a sea-captain, served in the Ruby, and fought a gallant action in 1694, in which he took a French man-of-war called the Entreprenant.]

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THOMAS LORD FAIRFAX,
AT ORIEL COLLEGE, IN OXFORD, THESE.

MY LORD,

I AM not only concerned that I was so unhappy in not meeting you at Oxford, when I waited upon you there, the last year, but also when you did me the honour to call lately at my house here, I being then in Yorkshire, where, I do assure your lordship, you have many friends and hearty well-wishers; amongst many of which I often drank your good health; and I am sure that none that has the honour of being related to your lordship has a more sincere affection and willingness to be serviceable to you, whenever in my power, than myself. I have sometimes conferred with Sir John Buckell, on matters relating to the unhappy incumbrances attending your estates in Yorkshire, and shall still be ready to do the same, in order to make the matters as easy as your circumstances will permit.

My lord, I was lately with your aunt, Mary Fairfax, at Denton, who told me she had writ to your lordship, in the behalf of Mr. William Topham, who is now, and has been for many years, curate and preaching minister at Bilbrough; so I need not trouble you with a repeated caricature of him, only thus far I dare venture to say, that were my dear friend, your father, living, he would have readily nominated him on the death of Mr. Stretton, lately deceased, who, during his life, enjoyed half the benefice of Bilbrough, and Mr. Topham the other, the whole being but 40*l.* per annum, and given by your great ancestor, Lord Thomas the General; and the presentation is now descended to you. Wherefore I humbly request your lordship will please to appoint the said Mr. Topham, according to the sum here under mentioned, the substance of which he transmitted to me by last post. He has performed the cure many years, is an honest man, well respected by your family, and all his neighbours; he is aged between seventy and eighty years, so he cannot, by course of nature, long enjoy it. I shall be very glad by a line to hear of your lordship's health and welfare, which I shall ever wish, because I am always, my lord,

Your lordship's most faithful
And affectionate humble servant,
Robert Fairfax.

Little Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, 16*th October,* 1712.

If your lordship please to send the undermentioned, signed, and enclosed to me, I'll take care to transmit the same to the parson.

"BE it Known unto all Men by these Presents, that I, Thomas Lord Fairfax, Baron of Cameron, Do nominate William Topham, Master of Arts, and Curate of Bilbrough, in the Ainsty of the City of York, to be preaching minister there, and to receive all the tithes given to a preaching minister at the said place. Given under my hand, the day and year above written."

My Lord,—Give me leave to acquaint your lordship, that in your father's lifetime he was pleased to direct Mr. Bankes, at Denton, that I should have a quantity of lime trees of his lordship's sowing there, to set an avenue to my house in Yorkshire; but my agent not removing them before your father died, I would not meddle with them since. As they now stand, they will be quite spoiled, if some be not removed. So if your lordship please to signify your consent, I'll cause them to be taken up without damage, but with advantage to the rest.

THOMAS FAIRFAX.

[A member of another branch of the Fairfaxes. His "lordship" referred to was the seventh lord. He died without issue, and his estates devolved on the Rev. Denny Martin. The barony was confirmed in 1800 to his kinsman, the Rev. Brian Fairfax, grandson of the fourth baron.]

My good Sir,

Last evening I received your polite and very obliging favour. I also had, duly, what you wrote in relation to the mistake in the last money sent me. I am sincerely sorry you had so much trouble on that account, as it was not of consequence. As I am not competent to judge of the agreement his lordship has been so good to take the trouble of in regard to the unfortunate Morelands, I can only say that my obligations to him are very great; that I have not a doubt but that he acted for the estate as if it had been his own; and I shall acquiesce in what his lordship, Mr. Athawes, and you think proper. I enclose a bill of exchange for 544*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.*, and request the favour of being informed if it is accepted. Accept my best thanks for all your friendly wishes for my happy settlement at Lansdowne Place, No. 9, Bath. Indeed, my kind friends, I stand in need of the prayers of all that wish me well; for I have not activity of body or mind equal to this great business of a remove—I wish I may not sink under it. Nothing but actual necessity could have forced me from hence; but could you look on my former peaceful habitation now, you would pity me. All the beautiful meadow ground formed in the front of the house has wide canals cut through it: waggons and carts, loaded with stone, treading all the grass; so that it would not be possible to keep horses here for the future; and you know there is no doing in the country without them. Add to all other things that I have, every day, in my sight, at least a hundred of the workmen; and as I have not the best opinion of those people, I must own I am panic-struck. I do not enter my new house till Michaelmas, which would be as soon as I wish, could I divest myself of my fears. I apprehend I can't get all my things carried to Bath before the last of October. The work is vast in my idea; and here I must stay till the house is empty; for I have not such a confidential friend to act for me as Mr. Athawes has.

I am, Sir,
Your obliged and faithful humble servant,
T. FAIRFAX.

Wellington House, Sept. 18, 1792.

THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

[This is the Duke of Buckingham, who survives in the satires of Dryden and Pope :

> "A man so various, that he seemed to be
> Not one, but all mankind's epitome :
> Stiff in opinions, always in the wrong,
> Was everything by turns, and nothing long."

The following letter was written probably early in 1666, when, having fallen into disgrace at Court, as Wood tells us, he withdrew and absconded. The account he gives of his devotion to his Majesty's cause is by no means overcharged. He perilled everything for the King ; followed him through all his dangers, was present at Worcester, and shared his banishment. He estimates his estate at 30,000*l.*, which is a third more than his biographers allow him : no doubt an exaggeration. What he says about having influenced Lord Fairfax to join in the Restoration, is a piece of gratuitous boasting to help out his case with the King. Fairfax had made up his mind on that subject long before he became connected with Buckingham, and used Buckingham's interest for his own ends, just as Buckingham used his in 1657, when, stealing back to England, he wooed and married Lady Mary, and so made his peace with the Parliament.]

THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM TO THE KING.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

I DESIRED my Lord Treasurer to beg leave of your Majesty that I might have the honour to speak with you, which your Majesty refused. Afterwards he promised to lay before your Majesty the hardness of my present case, which he tells me he hath done, though I confess I should hardly believe it, if I had not great experience of his honour and truth in general to all men, as well as of his kindness to me in particular. I am not the least surprised at my having enemies about your Majesty; but I wonder very much, after the many observations I have made of your Majesty's good nature to all the world, that you can find in your heart to use me with so much cruelty who have ever loved you better than myself, and preferred the following you abroad in the worst of your misfortunes before the staying at home to enjoy a plentiful estate.

Pray, Sir, what is it I have done that should make you thus angry with me? Was it my fault that other men did really prejudice your Majesty's affairs upon the hopes of doing me a mischief. Did I say anything in my defence which could possibly be wrested to a reflection upon your Majesty? Or if I was forced to reflect upon others, was it any more than what you yourself gave me leave to do? In case I should be first accused, I beseech your Majesty examine your own heart well upon this subject, and if those that heard me speak do not clear me from having behaved myself disrespectively to your Majesty, I desire no favour from you. I am told the House of Commons have addressed to your Majesty that I may be deprived of all places which I hold during your Majesty's pleasure, the severity of which censure I shall not take upon me now to dispute. But your Majesty may please to remember that by your gracious permission I bought the place of Master of the Horse, which I hold by patent under the Great Seal during my life, with power of nominating my deputy. It is therefore my most humble request to your Majesty I may be allowed to name such a deputy as your Majesty shall approve; that so I may not wholly lose my right to an office which I purchased by your Majesty's favour, and which the House of Commons were so far from desiring should be taken from me that upon the mention of it in the House it was universally agreed to, that no man's freehold ought to be invaded, and for that reason the address to your Majesty was worded accordingly. Your Majesty knows I have often told you that I would depend upon no man's favour in the Court but yours, and that nothing could make me desire to stay there but your kindness. These have been always my thoughts, and are so still.

If it be upon the score of the House of Commons address to your Majesty that you are resolved to remove me from my place, I hope at least you will not be harder to me than the House of Commons were. And if it be only because your Majesty has a mind the Duke of Monmouth should have it, even in that case I shall not complain of your Majesty; neither I do not think it strange you should love him better than me: but I cannot believe your Majesty would for his sake do any man an injustice.

Consider, I beseech you, that I had the honour to be bred up with your Majesty from a child: That I lost my estate for running from Cambridge, where I was a student, to serve your Majesty and your father, at Oxford, when I was not thought of age sufficient to bear arms, and for that reason was sent away from thence to travel: That after the end of the wars, returning into England, and having my whole estate restored to me by the Parliament, without composition, a few weeks after my return, there happening to be a design laid to take up arms for your Majesty, my brother and I engaged in it, and in the engagement he was killed: That after this the Parliament voted my pardon, in case I would return within forty days: That I then, being concealed in London, chose rather, with the hazard of my life, to endeavour to wait upon your Majesty in the Fleet, where I found you, than to stay, possessed of my estate, upon condition of having nothing more to do with your Majesty's fortunes: That afterwards, when your Majesty went out of Holland into Scotland, I was offered my composition for 20,000*l.*, a sum not considerable to me at the time, my estate being then worth 30,000*l.* a-year: That even as to your Majesty's return into England, I may justly pretend to some share; since, without my Lord Fairfax, by engaging in Yorkshire, Lambert's army had never quitted him, nor the Duke of Albemarle marched out of Scotland; and without me, it is sufficiently known to many persons yet alive, that my Lord Fairfax had never engaged.

That in all the employments I have had under your Majesty, I have been so far from getting, that I have wasted the best part of my estate in following and waiting upon your Majesty. All these things being considered, I conceive it will appear but just, that if your Majesty have a desire to make me quit my place, I may be allowed to receive for it the full of what it is worth. Were I now as well in my affairs as when I first came into your Majesty's service, I should never have thought of making this request. Nay, would the condition of my fortune give me leave to yield, I should not dispute with your Majesty anything you could have a mind to take from me. But my whole estate being at present mortgaged, and I having lived to this age without being acquainted with any way of getting money, I hope your Majesty will not be offended, if, being forced to part with my freehold, I desire at least to sell it for the payment of my debts.

I humbly ask your Majesty's pardon for this trouble I have given you, and beg of you to believe that nothing shall ever separate me from my duty and allegiance to your Majesty; as I cannot despair but that, one day, your Majesty will find the difference between those that truly* love you, and those that serve you only for private ends of their own. I am, may it please your Majesty,

Your Majesty's most dutiful and most obedient
Subject and servant,
BUCKINGHAM.

A PAPER UNDER THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM'S OWN HAND, CONCERNING MY LORD FAIRFAX.

FOUND IN HIS CABINET AFTER HIS DEATH.

[I lent the original to the Bishop of Norwich, who lost it; but it is copied by me in another book.—*Note by Brian Fairfax.*]

As soon as Oliver Cromwell was dead, they proclaimed his son, Richard Cromwell, Protector of England, with the same solemnities that even Kings of England were proclaimed Kings. I was then close prisoner in the Tower, with a couple of guards lying alway in my chamber, and a sentinel at my door. I confess I was not a little delighted with the noise of the great guns, for I presently knew what it meant; and if Oliver had lived for three days longer I had certainly been put to death. The causes of Oliver's hatred against me were two: first, that I was married to Lord Fairfax's daughter and heir, who had still a greater interest in the army than Oliver himself, though he had laid down his commission upon them deceiving him in the murder of King Charles the First.

---

* The Duke's own hand.

I must here beg leave to make a short digression, because I owe it to the memory of my father-in-law. My Lord Fairfax being General of the Army,

[The rest is writ in another book.]

THE CASE BETWEEN THE DUKE AND DUCHESS OF BUCKINGHAM AND HENRY LORD FAIRFAX OF CAMERON, 1686.

[Opinion of Counsel.]

13th May, 1637. 13 Car. I. Thomas Lord Fairfax and Sir Ferdinando Fairfax, his eldest son, upon the marriage of Thomas Fairfax, Esq., eldest son of Sir Ferdinando, with Ann Vere, daughter of Lord Vere, settles,—

1. Denton and Askwith to the Lord Fairfax for life; remainder to Sir Ferdinando for life; remainder to Thomas for life; remainder to all the sons of Thomas upon Ann in tail male; remainder to Sir Ferdinando in tail male; remainder to the Lord Fairfax in tail male; remainder in fee to Lord Fairfax.

2. Bilbrough, Ferriby, Skelton, Wistow, Clementhorp, and Bishophill, to the Lord Fairfax for life; remainder to Sir Ferdinando for life; remainder to Thomas in tail male upon Ann; remainder to Thomas in tail male; remainder to Sir Ferdinando in tail male; remainder in tail male to the Lord Fairfax; remainder in fee to the Lord Fairfax.

3. Appleton, Nunappleton, Rigton, Davyhall, Hessey, Clifford, Wraywoods, Sandwith, and Steeton, to the Lord Fairfax, in fee till the marriage and after the marriage; Appleton, Nunappleton, Rigton, Davyhall, and Hessey (except

the rent of 7*l.* 12*s.* 1*d.*, and the woods in Appleton and Nunappleton) to Thomas for life; Clifford, Wraywoods, Sandwith, and Steeton, to the Lord Fairfax and his heirs, for the life of Thomas; and after the decease of Thomas, all these in the third paragraph to Ann for life for jointure; remainder to Thomas in tail male upon Ann; remainder in tail male to Thomas; remainder in tail male to Sir Ferdinando; remainder in tail male to Lord Fairfax; remainder in fee to Lord Fairfax.

Proviso for 5000*l.* portion for a daughter.

Bolton Percy not touched in that settlement.

2nd November, 1650. Thomas Lord Fairfax (being heir-male of the body of Sir Strafford, his father, who was heir-male of the body of Thomas Lord Fairfax, his grandfather,) consented to levy a fine of all comprised in the settlement, 31st May, 13 Car. I., to the use of Thomas Lord Fairfax the grandson in fee.

Hill. Ter. 1650. A fine is accordingly levied to the Earl of Clare and the other coventees.

If this fine was thus levied (the exemplification whereof I have seen) I conceive this alone (without any common recovery) bars all the intails in the deed, 31st May, 13 Car. I., and vests a good estate in fee in Thomas Lord Fairfax the grandson.

T. Rokeby.

31*st May*, 1686.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, AT DENTON, IN YORKSHIRE.

MY LORD,

I NEED not tell your lordship of the great difficulties I have met withal by the violent proceedings at law of my lord duke's creditors, with whom I was at last forced to come to an agreement, and to pass away my estate at Nun Appleton in trust for their benefit, upon the consideration of five-and-twenty hundred pounds reserved to be paid me (for payment of my debts) upon the sale of the estate. My Lady Ash has been since admitted purchaser, but cannot well go on with her purchase for want of some deeds which are (as I suppose ought properly so to be) in your lordship's custody. Those deeds which are most insisted on are my mother's marriage-settlement, and my father's settlement of Nun Appleton, dated about the 23rd of April, in the eighteenth year of King Charles the Second. And I find no copies will be satisfactory to my Lady Ash's counsel, and therefore I earnestly entreat your lordship's friendship to me to let those deeds be delivered to your lordship's counsel, or some other friend, to be brought up to town, in order to be produced to my lady's counsel, that the purchase may be expedited, and that I may happily be a little at ease from my clamorous creditors; which I hope your lordship, in kindness to me, will be ready to promote, it being noways prejudicial to your lordship's interest, as I am informed by my counsel; who have positively assured me your lordship could not possibly reap any benefit from this estate, it being entirely swallowed up by the incumbrances upon it. And it was chiefly this consideration that inclined me at first to hearken to the agreement I before mentioned, and which I hope may incline your lordship to hearken to, and grant the favour I now beg of your lordship, which will be an infinite obligation to me, who am,

My lord,
Your lordship's affectionate cousin
And humble servant,
MARY BUCKINGHAM.

Pall Mall, 28*th September*, 1700.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THOMAS LORD FAIRFAX, AT DENTON, IN YORKSHIRE.

MY LORD,

YOU need make no apologies for not writing to me. You are busy at home and abroad. There is yet no news of a proclamation for the sitting of the Parliament. You shall hear so soon as any is talked of. There is a council on Thursday, and perhaps we may have it then determined, though there is no necessity of it till after Christmas, nor then, except the King of Spain's death, who they say recovers.

I have endeavoured to inform myself what the new purchasers of Appleton want to confirm their title. I am told it is the Deed of Settlement at the marriage of my late Lord Thomas and his lady, Anne Vere, wherein 5000*l.* and no more was settled as a portion upon a daughter, if no heir male. Of this deed mention is made in the last settlement of the late Lord Thomas, wherein he gives Bolton and Appleton to the *Duchess and the heirs of her body*, and if she have none, to the heirs of my grandfather; and this in lieu of her 5000*l.*, but not to have both; and all fines, recoveries, &c., to inure to those purposes; and no other mentioned in that Deed of Settlement, which is enrolled in the Chancery. But the deed they want, I suppose is the first deed of my grandfather, which gave her 5000*l.*, and that deed, I believe you have at Denton, and if you have, I am sure you owe not my lady duchess so much service as to let her have it, to gratify either her or the purchasers. I would advise you to look it out, and show it to some good counsel; if Mr. Witton be in the country, he was privy to these settlements. I fear the fines and recoveries passed by the Duke and Duchess will bar all, though I suffered for advising your father to secure his title, by blame and otherwise. Pray bring that deed up with you.

My Lord Tankerville will be Privy Seal, and they say my Lord Godolphin will come again in his place of the Treasury. The King comes on Saturday to Kew, and stays four or five days, but returns to Hampton Court only a day in a week to council. My Lord Mayor had a fine day for his show after a week of rainy weather. My Lord Falconberg is still in a dozing languishing condition. I hope my pretty nephew is well. My love to Brian, I will write to him the next post. All our services to your lordship.

Your lordship's most humble servant,

B. FAIRFAX.

October 29, [1700].

FROM BRIAN FAIRFAX, ESQ., TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THOMAS LORD FAIRFAX, OF DENTON, IN YORKSHIRE.

MY LORD,

I WRIT last post to your lordship concerning Appleton, and I hope you will advise with wiser men than I pretend to be, what is fit for you to do; but, in my opinion, you should continue your claim, now the duchess has parted with all her interest; and the sooner you do it the better, before the bargain be finished, because when the money is paid, the law will favour a purchaser more than another. I pretend not to be a lawyer; but in reason (and that should be law) the deeds of the grandfather and the late lord should be valid. By the first, the estate is entailed upon yourself as heir in tail, and fortified by another deed, which is that they would now have, made at the marriage of the late lord, whereby 5000*l.*, and no more, was to be the duchess's portion, and all fines or recoveries, done or to be done, were to inure to that purpose; whereby it appeared how desirous my old lord grandfather was to keep the estate in the heirs male.

The next is the deed of settlement of the late Lord Thomas Fairfax, wherein Bolton and Appleton are given to the duke and duchess for life, and to the heirs of her body; but if she have none, to the heirs of the Lord Fairfax the grandfather. Now I would know what barbarous law (for the whole law of fines is no better) should give her power, having no children, to sell this estate, because she was in a possibility of having children, which now I think she is not. Perhaps if a judge should say this is law, a jury will say it is not reason.

I would not put you on projects, but I think you should consult with the best lawyers of England, and not only make your claim to the estate of Bolton and Appleton, but choose a farm, and have a trial for it. If they fail in any of their fines and recoveries, they are gone; and this claim of yours will discourage any purchaser. The sooner the better, before it be concluded; though I am told the duchess has her share of 2000*l.* paid already, so that you have no restraint upon you on her account, which has been more than deserved. I am sorry Mr. Benlowes has been so negligent in this business. Before you come out of the country, I think you should visit Bolton, and ask to whom they pay their rents. If to the duchess, you disturb them not; if to anybody else, forbid them. But advise with your friends; though I think you should do it immediately.

There is no proclamation yet for the sitting of the Parliament. I told a privy councillor to-day how acceptable it would be to the Parliament men to know whether or when they should sit. He said perhaps there would be a proclamation ordered next council day, which is not till Sunday, at Kensington; for there is none to-day at Hampton Court. He says fifteen days is time enough; I say twenty is the usual time. You shall know as soon as any. My Lord Tankerville is Privy Seal; Marlborough, Secretary; Godolphin, First Treasurer; Earl of Rochester, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

B. FAIRFAX.

October, 31*st*, 1700.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THOMAS LORD FAIRFAX, AT DENTON, IN YORKSHIRE.

MY LORD,

I HAVE received yours of the 29th of October, and the enclosed, to which I think you have given a good answer, and it concerns you to be cautious, doing nothing but by advice of your counsel when you come to London. This is the third letter I have written to your lordship on this occasion, though perhaps I was mistaken as to the deed she writes for, which I took to be that at the marriage of her father and mother, dated —— year of King Charles the First, wherein she was to have 5000*l*. and no more. But all the deeds make against her, for they all entail the estate upon the heirs males of the first Thomas Lord Fairfax. I cannot tell what she means by the deed she now desires a sight of, which she calls her mother's marriage settlement of Nun-Appleton, dated the 23rd of April, in the eighteenth year of King Charles the Second, which I think is Anno Domini 1666, many years after that marriage. I suppose she means the last settlement of my Lord Thomas which bears that date, and therefore I think if you judged it necessary to have written your answer to her Grace, it might have been a good excuse that you knew not what writings she meant. But perhaps it is better not to write, though I should write in these terms to her: That you have received a letter from her, and are sorry to be put upon so ungrateful an employment, as to search for writings to enable her to sell an estate, which by all the deeds, both of the first Lord Thomas Fairfax and of her own father, was entailed on the heirs of her body, and for default of such heirs upon yourself; and now she has parted with all her interest, you think yourself bound in honour and conscience to assert the title in behalf of those that come after you, and make those mortgages and pretended debts be publicly produced, that were so clandestinely obtained: You should have waited on her before you came down, but you heard she had taken offence where none was given, and you have been denied such common favours, as makes you think all your actions have been misrepresented by her officers, for their own ends, as it now appears. Your lordship will pardon me running on at this rate, but I think you had better say nothing, till you come up. Examine your writings, but part with none, nor can the Chancery compel any man to show deeds to his own prejudice, till he think fit to produce them.

An express came last night from our ambassador at Paris, that the King of Spain died the 1st of November, New Style; they say he has left his crown to the Duke of Anjou, but the King of France will have it his own way. This may hasten a resolution of calling a Parliament, and we expect on Tuesday next it will be determined, though they said before this news came it would not sit till after Christmas; the King comes to-morrow (being Sunday) to Kensington, and tarries till Wednesday. Mr. Strutt calls Nevill a very knave, and I believe him.

I know not whether you have the original Deed of Settlement, dated 23rd of April, in the eighteenth of Charles the Second, which was in my old Lord Clare's custody, being a Trustee; but I remember when he was in Italy, he sent over to his mother to deliver it into my hands, to be enrolled in Chancery, and your father and I went to the Master of the Rolls (Sir Harbottle Grimston) and had it done; and I think the deed was returned again to my Lord Clare. A copy I have, and being enrolled it is your evidence, though you have not the original; but it concerns you to examine, and take a note of your evidences. Your lordship will pardon my boldness. My service to my little nephew, and love to Brian.

Your most humble servant,

B. FAIRFAX.

November 2nd, 1700.

FROM BRIAN FAIRFAX, ESQ., TO THOMAS, LORD FAIRFAX, ON THE DUCHESS OF BUCKINGHAM'S CLAIMS.

My Lord,

I received a letter from my son dated at Tadcaster, in your way to Bolton, and shall be glad to hear what you did: there can be no hurt, if there come no good; and it is fit they should be made to produce their writings, who demand to see yours. I have discoursed with my Lord Bishop of Rochester, and our advice is to show all respect to her Grace, but show no writings. Since you have thought fit to renew your claim, it is his opinion you should write to her Grace an answer to hers; he bid me draw one, which I have written on the back side of this, which he saw and approves, if you think fit to send it. We know not yet whether a new or old parliament, or when they will sit, but conclude it will not be till after Christmas. The bishop and I have laid a wager; he says a new one, I fancy the old one, for why should they be disobliged who will be most of them chosen again. On Thursday next is a council at Kensington, and then perhaps we shall be wiser. We take it for granted the King of France prefers the King of Spain's will before his own deed. Mr. Hill is going to Brussels. I hope Brian will excuse my not writing this post.

I am your lordship's,

B. F.

November 12*th,* 1700.

COPY OF LETTER TO BE WRITTEN BY LORD FAIRFAX TO THE DUCHESS OF BUCKINGHAM.

May it please your Grace,

I received a letter from your Grace wherein you are pleased to desire some writings, supposed to be in my hands, concerning Bolton and Appleton, particularly a Deed of Settlement, at my lady your Grace's mother's marriage, dated 1660, which must be a great mistake. I told the man who brought it, that I intended to be shortly in London, and would then wait on your Grace. But hearing that your Grace has parted with all your interest in those lands, if I have any such writings, they can be of no real use to your Grace, and it is no pleasure to me to gratify a purchaser, seeing that after your Grace, I take myself to have a right. The claim made by my father, and since by myself, however it has been represented, was never intended to disturb the possession in your Grace, but as we were advised, to secure the title of these lands to the heirs males of the family, as they were expressly given, by all the deeds and settlements that were ever made. And I think myself obliged in honour and conscience to do all the law allows, to assert this title to my posterity, till the pretended creditors and mortgagees show a better. I should have taken it for a great honour to have received any mark of your Grace's favour, as I have of your noble father's, whose memory I shall ever honour, and pay the debt of gratitude owing to it, by my dutiful respects to your Grace, who am

Your Grace's most obedient servant,

ENTRY OF FIFTH LORD FAIRFAX TO THE SEVERAL MANORS OF BOLTON-PERCY, APPLETON, AND NUN-APPLETON.

November 11th, 1700.—Memorandum, that the Right Honourable Thomas Lord Fairfax of Denton, in the County of York, Baron of Cameron (the day and year above written), did make claim and entry to the several manors of Bolton Percy, Appleton, and Nun-Appleton, upon several parcels of ground within the said several manors (viz.), Horseclose-wood within Nun-Appleton, Newclose within Appleton, and Hallgarth within Bolton Percy; as right heir male, claiming the said several manors after the death of the Right Noble the Lady Duchess of Buckingham, daughter of the Right Honourable Thomas Lord Fairfax deceased.

In the presence of

H. Fairfax,	Robert White,
Bar. Fairfax,	Ja. Macdaniell,
Br. Fairfax,	Rowland Jaques,
Tho. Clapham,	Ber. Bankes,

Will. Naington.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, AT DENTON.

My Lord,

I lately received a letter from your lordship, dated 7th instant, which though intended, as I suppose, for an answer to mine of the 28th of September last, comes at that distance of time, that I may well presume mine was perfectly forgotten; and the more I consider your lordship's answer, the more I am confirmed in my opinion; for it speaks of my mother's marriage settlement, dated 1660, which I am sure my letter does no ways mention; for the two distinct deeds I desired your lordship to admit to be produced to my Lady Ashe's counsel, were indeed what I then called (and think I may properly do so still) my mother's marriage settlement, without mentioning the date of it; and my father's settlement of Nun Appleton, dated about the 23rd of April, in the eighteenth year of King Charles the Second, and not one word of a marriage settlement in the year 1660 that I know of, as your lordship is pleased to mention in yours (for that cannot possibly be); and farther, that you understand I have parted with my interest in that estate, without taking the least notice of the five-and-twenty hundred pounds, which I observed to your lordship in my letter, was reserved to be paid me for payment of my own debts, which are very burthensome and very grievous to me, and 'twas that made me so earnestly entreat your lordship's friendship to suffer those deeds to be produced, that I might be thereby eased from the clamours of my creditors; and yet, I confess, this is such a favour as I could not hope for, nor should not have asked for, had I not had, as I observed to your lordship in my last, not only the opinion of my own counsel (very able in the law), but also that of the whole court, that those estates are entirely subjected to my lord duke's debts, and your lordship thereby totally frustrated of all manner of benefit or claim to them. However, to make short of the matter, suppose your lordship does pretend a title, which I take to be utterly groundless, yet, be it how it will, it is certain that showing it now can no more prejudice it, than concealing of it will mend it hereafter. When your lordship shall have well considered this, I hope, though not for my sake, yet for the sake of the memory of my father, as your lordship mentions, you will be inclined to comply with my request, and thereby do justice to his daughter, and am,

My lord,
Your lordship's affectionate cousin,
And humble servant,
MARY BUCKINGHAM.

Pall Mall, November 31st, 1700.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, AT DENTON.

MY LORD,

I BEG your lordship's pardon for not waiting on you myself; the reason, being very much indisposed by a cold. The inclosed came to my hands last post from her Grace's solicitor, and I presume it's upon the same errand of the former I delivered to your lordship. I am concerned no further than as to transmit the inclosed. He intimates in his letter to me that what her Grace desires cannot be any ways prejudicial to your lordship; and you not going to London and producing the deeds, is to her. That if your lordship be advised to the contrary, then they hope you will not insist on privilege. I shall not trouble your lordship any further, but desire you will answer her Grace's letter, and vouchsafe as much to,

Your lordship's most humble servant,
WALTER SOTHEBY.

York, December 10th, 1700.

FOR BRIAN FAIRFAX, ESQ., AT HIS HOUSE, NEAR THE ABBEY OF WESTMINSTER.

[In this letter we have an account of the last moments of the Duke of Buckingham, which directly contradicts the tradition transmitted to us through the celebrated lines of Pope—

> "In the worst inn's worst room, with mat half hung,
> The floors of plaster and the walls of dung;
> On once a flock-bed, but repaired with straw,
> With tape-tied curtains, never meant to draw;
> The George and Garter dangling from that bed,
> Where tawdry yellow strove with dirty red,
> Great Villiers lies," &c.]

SIR,

I AM this evening obliged with the favour of yours of the 20th instant, and your kind inquiries after the health of your old schoolfellow, who truly wishes yours, and has all service for my Lord Fairfax.

As it fell to my share to know as much of the last moments of the late Duke of Buckingham as any then about him, so at your instance I shall readily give answer to satisfy any, that he died in the best house in Kirkby Moorside (which neither is, nor ever was, an alehouse); and that when he was moved to receive the sacrament he consented to it, and received it from the hands of the minister of the parish, with great decency and seeming devotion; while we, who received with him, were somewhat doubtful of his swallowing the bread, because of his weakness and pain. Hence we had reason to conclude he had died in the communion of the Church of England, and none about him at that time ever questioned it that I heard of. Indeed, my Lord of Arran (who was then there) could not be prevailed with to communicate with his Grace and us. What my lord's reasons were for that unwillingness I know not; but my lord (now Duke of Hamilton) is a witness of the truth of his Grace's thus receiving, his lordship being (if I am not much mistaken) in the room then.

I omit at present many particulars which I could give some account of, as to making his will, his naming his heir, &c., which his Grace would not be persuaded to. If you please to command any farther account of the very last passages of his life, the respect and honour I had from him, and for him, engage me to answer you in favour of his memory. I had not the honour to converse with him any long time before his dying days; but, so far as I ever had any discourse with his Grace, he was always pleased to express a love for good men and good things, how little able soever he was to live up to what he knew.

You may please to let me hear of your receiving this, and wherein I can any way serve you; for I am,

Sir,

Your faithful humble servant,

J. Gibson.

Welburne, 27th February, 1706. [*N.S.* 1607.]

THE MARRIAGE OF ANNE HYDE, DUCHESS OF YORK.

[These papers (from Mr. Bentley's Collection) will be read with interest. Anne Hyde was the daughter of the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, and was one of the maids of honour to the Princess Henrietta during the exile of the royal family. The Duke of York first met her in his sister's house, and, being struck by her beauty, made love to her. But he failed in his advances; the lady was too wary to be duped by his protestations; and she managed the affair with such adroitness that he finally married her. The marriage was secret and unknown to her father, and when the Restoration recalled the Stuarts to England, the Duke attempted to disown it, and even, it is said, descended to threats and acts of violence to induce her to release him. But the Duchess was firm, and insisted upon the public acknowledgment of her rights. The case was investigated by the command of the King, and the lady was duly recognised as Duchess of York. She gave birth to two daughters, Mary and Anne, who were afterwards successively Queens of England.

Amongst the following papers will be found the depositions of the persons who were present at the marriage, including the declarations of the Duke and Duchess, the former being at last compelled to acknowledge her as his wife.

The Lady Cornbury was the wife of her eldest brother, Henry, who afterwards succeeded to his father's title. Lady Henrietta Hyde, married to her second brother Laurence, afterwards created Earl of Rochester, was the daughter of the Earl of Burlington.]

DEPOSITION OF ELLEN STROUDE CONCERNING THE MARRIAGE OF THE DUKE OF YORK WITH ANNE HYDE.

Ellen Stroude, aged 30 years or thereabouts, saith: she being servant to the Lord Chancellor's daughter, was present at her marriage with his Highness the Duke of York here in England, and that they were married by Dr. Crowther, a minister of the Church of England according to the order of marriage in the book of Common Prayer. The words of marriage thereby prescribed being used and pronounced by them in her hearing, and they did plight their troth to each other and the joining hands and giving and receiving a ring, and other forms of marriage prescribed in the Common Prayer Book were used. And she further saith that the Lord Ossory was then also present and gave the said Duchess in marriage to his Highness the Duke of York: of the truth of all which the said Ellen Stroude doth take her corporal oath, this 18th of February, 1660. [N. S. 1661.]

her
ELLEN × STROUDE.
mark.

DEPOSITION OF DR. CROWTHER CONCERNING THE MARRIAGE OF THE DUKE OF YORK TO ANNE HYDE.

I JOSEPH CROWTHER, Doctor in Divinity, aged 53 years or thereabouts, do affirm and depose upon my oath, that I being formerly ordained a minister of the Church of England, did, upon the 3rd day of September last, between the hours of ten and two in the night, marry his Highness the Duke of York unto the now Duchess, the Lord Chancellor's daughter, here in England, by the Book of Common Prayer, and did use the words of marriage, and they both pronounced the words prescribed by the Common Prayer Book for order of marriage, and the forms of plighting troth, joining hands, giving and receiving a ring, the endowment, &c., pronouncing the marriage with the usual words, whom God hath joined let no man put asunder, were all used, and the marriage concluded by the blessing. And I do further affirm that the Lord Ossory and a servant of the Duchess's, called Ellen Stroude, were then there, and that the Lord Ossory did give and present the Duchess in marriage to his Highness. Of the truth of all which, I the said Doctor Crowther, do take my corporal oath this 18th of February, 1660. [N. S. 1661.]

JOS. CROWTHER.

DEPOSITION OF THE EARL OF OSSORY CONCERNING THE MARRIAGE OF THE DUKE OF YORK WITH ANNE HYDE.

I Thomas Boteler, Lord Ossory, son and heir apparent to the Marquis of Ormond, aged 27 years or thereabouts, do depose upon my oath that I was present at the marriage of his Highness the Duke of York with the Duchess of York, the Lord Chancellor's daughter, upon the 3rd day of September last, and did see them married between the hours of ten and two of the clock at night by Doctor Crowther, a minister; and that the words of marriage were used and read out of the Common Prayer Book, and pronounced by them both according as they are set down in the Common Prayer Book for the order of marriages. And that I did give and present her in marriage to his Highness, and a ring was given and the marriage consummated with the blessing of the minister. Of the truth of all which, I the said Lord Ossory do take my corporal oath, this 18th day of February, 1660. [N. S. 1661.]

Ossory.

DECLARATION OF ANNE HYDE RESPECTING HER MARRIAGE WITH THE DUKE OF YORK.

I Anne, Duchess of York, do declare and depose, that the Duke of York having solicited me in the way of marriage near the space of a year, we were contracted upon the 24th of November, 1659, at Breda in Brabant, and afterwards we lived together as man and wife, though with all possible secrecy, and after my coming into England we were again married upon the 3rd of September last, in the night, between eleven and two, at Worcester House; Dr. Crowther performing that office according as is directed by the Book of Common Prayer, the Lord Ossory being then present, and giving me in marriage, and Ellen Stroude my maidservant being then likewise present; of the truth of all which I do take my corporal oath, this 18th day of February, 1660. [N.S. 1661.]

ANNE.

DECLARATION OF JAMES, DUKE OF YORK, RESPECTING HIS MARRIAGE WITH ANNE HYDE.

I JAMES, Duke of York, do testify and declare that after I had for many months solicited Anne, my now wife, in the way of marriage, I was contracted to her on the 24th of November, 1659, at Breda in Brabant, and after that time, and many months before I came into England, I lived with her (though with all possible secrecy) as my wife, and after my coming into this kingdom; and that we might observe all that is enjoined by the Church of England, I married her upon the 3rd of September last, in the night, between eleven and two, at Worcester House, my chaplain, Dr. Crowther, performing that office according as is directed by the Book of Common Prayer, the Lord Ossory being then present and giving her in marriage: of the truth of all which I do take my corporal oath this day, this 18th of February, 1660. [N. S. 1661.]

JAMES.

ANNE HYDE (DUCHESS OF YORK) TO THE LADY CORNBURY.

DEAR SISTER,

I WAS in such haste on Saturday to go to dinner to the Archbishop's that I could not then possibly answer your letter, but I assure you I received it with great satisfaction, and do desire you very much to continue doing it; for I assure you nobody can have more real kindness for you than I have, and desire nothing more than to have in my power to show it you better than yet I have been able to do. I expect with great impatience my Lady Burlington in this country, which would add very much to the satisfaction I have here already. This is really a very good place, and I am sure at Salisbury you have not so good a place to take the air in as we have here. I do not know whether I make you an ill compliment, but I wish you very often to see it. I find we are like to have many feasts; to-morrow my Lord Mayor makes us one, which I know will be very troublesome. The post is just going, so that I have time to say no more, but that I am

Your most affectionate sister,
ANNE (HYDE).

Pray tell my brother your writing will not excuse him, and amongst you I hope you will send some news.

York, August 14th.

ANNE HYDE (DUCHESS OF YORK) TO THE LADY CORNBURY.

Dear Sister,

I could not possibly get time to answer your letter sooner; but when I do not that, I have always time to bless God for having you in our family. I hear such perpetual commendations of you from thence, that I can never thank you enough for making them so happy; but I am sure shall not only wish, but do my endeavour, that you may not repent it; but I cannot but wish them so much ill now as that you were now at Lansborough, whither I am to go on Monday to lie that night, and where I am sure my Lady Anne cannot wish you more than I shall, though I dare swear she does it heartily; and indeed never was a young lady so much alone; and I doubt not but she will like it so ill now, that she will follow your example and make somebody happy quickly.

Pray tell my brother Lory I am very glad to see by his letter to my Lady Burlington that he is alive and has not forgot to write. I am sure it must be for your sake that I can forgive his not writing to me, for nothing should make me do it but being really

Your most affectionate sister,

Anne (Hyde).

Pray tell my brother Cornbury I could not possibly get time to write above two letters this post, and that I hope he will excuse my not answering his till the next.

York, August 30th.

ANNE HYDE (DUCHESS OF YORK) TO THE LADY HENRIETTA HYDE.

YOUR letter came in very good time to show me you would not break your word, which I began a little to suspect you of, it being so long since you went away. You know laziness is the only fault I ever assure of, which you ought not to take ill, since it proceeds from the great desire I have always to see or hear from you, which I assure you I never did more than now; and I think you would not be displeased with the little journeys I am now making; for after having been ten days at Hampton Court, where the condition I am in hindering me from the divertisements of the place (of rising at five in the morning to fish, and being in the sun as long as it was up), I confess I was very weary; and you will easily believe very glad of the Duke's leave to come hither last night, where I am to stay with him till Monday, when we are both to go together to Farnham, and stay there till the end of the week. You will say it is no compliment to wish you with me, when every body is a-hunting; but I hope you are not now to be persuaded that there are few things in the world I am better pleased with than your company. I speak the truth; and to show you believe it, let me desire your letter without ceremony or compliment.

Remember me very kindly to your father and mother, and tell them I do wish, all my heart wish, myself at Lansborough.

Windsor, September 3rd.

ANNE (DUCHESS OF YORK) TO THE LADY HENRIETTA HYDE.

I HAVE written so long a letter to my brother Lory that I should not have done it at all to you, but to show you that I would not miss answering your letter, that you may be assured they can never come too often to me; and I think we ought now to be well enough acquainted to write no more with ceremony: and I begin this so to give you the example, and to desire you to follow it. This night we expect your mother here, and she has promised me to stay as long as I do; and I will not fail to do my endeavour to persuade her to come along to Oxford, whither I pray God to bring us all in good health that I may at a nearer distance assure you again how real a kindness I have for you.

York, September 12*th.*

THE PRINCESS MARY, WIFE OF WILLIAM, PRINCE OF ORANGE, TO LADY HENRIETTA HYDE.

IF you had known when you writ your letter the satisfaction I have to hear from you, you would not have given yourself the trouble to have made so many excuses to me for it; and though I hope my sister will never have more occasion to make you her secretary, yet that you will sometimes write, which, whenever you do it, will be with great pleasure to me both for your own sake and my sister Isabella, that I may hear how she does, which will be the greatest joy that can be to me when I hear she is well, and otherwise a very great affliction; for though she is so little as not to be sensible of the love I have for her, yet I cannot help telling it to you, and desire you to be very well assured that for yourself I shall always have great kindness for you, and be ever your very affectionate friend,

MARY.

February the 18*th.*

Pray do not forget to remember me to your daughter, and let her know I saw the letter in which she thanked me for the watch. I hope that good office I did her for it will make her remember me. When you write next, do not use so much ceremony.

EXTRACTS TAKEN FROM THE MEMORANDUM, OR POCKET-BOOK, MADE OF ASSES' SKIN, BELONGING TO ANNE HYDE, DUCHESS OF YORK, WRITTEN IN PENCIL WITH HER OWN HAND.

I WAS born the 12th day of March, O.S., in the year of our Lord 1637, at Cranborne Lodge, near Windsor, in Berkshire, and lived in my own country till I was twelve years old, having in that time seen the ruin both of Church and State, and the murdering of my King. The 1st of May, O.S., 1649, I came out of England, being the (then) twelve years old one month and eighteen days. I came to Antwerp the 6th of May, O. S.; the August following I went to Bruxelles for three or four days, and returned again to Antwerp, where I staid till May, 1651; and then went again to Bruxelles for a week, and returned to Antwerp again, where I staid till April, 1652, and then I went to the Hague, where I staid three weeks, being lodged at the Court of her Highness the Princess Royal. I returned to Antwerp in May, where I have been ever since. February the 8th, 1653, and I am now fifteen years old, ten months and twenty-seven days.

If I live till the 22nd of March, 1653, I am sixteen years old.

My dear aunt Bab was, when she died, twenty-four years old, and as much as from April to August.

[In another hand, but written in the same Memorandum-book.]

On the 31st of March, being Friday, the Duchess died (viz. Anne Hyde) at St. James's, and was buried the Wednesday following, 1671.

These books I would have my father give me—

The Illustrious Bashaw, the Grand Cyrus, Cleopatra, and the Holy Court.

[In the Duchess's hand-writing.]

God is an eternal, infinite, immutable, almighty, infinitely wise, and infinitely good spirit.

Je m'en vay mourier d'amour, mais ce n'est pas pour un infidel comme vous.

ANNE HYDE.

Adieu pour jamais, mais n'oubliez pas la plus miserable personne du monde.

ANNE HYDE.

Barbara Aylesbury, je l'aime plus que moy mesme mille fois.

ANNE HYDE.

THE DUCHESS OF YORK'S MOTIVES FOR EMBRACING THE ROMAN CATHOLIC FAITH.

Whereas I have been ever from my infancy bred up in the English Protestant religion, and have had very able persons to instruct me in the ground thereof, and I doubt not but I am exposed to the censure of an infinite number of persons, that are astonished at my quitting of it to embrace the religion of the Roman Catholics, from which I have always professed a great aversion; and therefore I have thought fit to give some satisfaction to my friends, by declaring unto them the reasons upon which I have been moved to do it, without engaging myself in long and unprofitable disputes touching that matter.

I protest therefore, before God, that since my coming into England, no person, either man or woman, hath at any time persuaded me to alter my religion, or hath used any discourse to me upon the subject; it hath been only particular favour from God, who hath been graciously pleased to hear the prayers I daily made unto him, both in France and Flanders, whilst I was there, that he would vouchsafe to bring me to the true Church before I died, in case I was not in the right; and it was the devotion I observed in the Catholics there which induced me to make that prayer, although my own devotion during all that time was very slender. I did, notwithstanding, all the time I was in those countries, believe I was in the true religion, neither had I the least scruple of it until November last, at which time, reading Doctor Healing's History of the Reformation, which had been highly recommended to me, I was so far from finding the least satisfaction I expected, that I found nothing but sacrileges; and looking over the reasons therein set down, which had caused the separation of the Church of England from that of Rome, I read three there which seemed to me great impiety.

1. The first was, that King Henry the Eighth had cast off the Pope's authority, because he would not permit him to quit his wife and marry another.

2. The second, that during the minority of Edward the Sixth, his uncle, the Duke of Somerset, who then governed all, and was the principal in that alteration, did greatly enrich himself with the goods of the Church, which he engrossed.

3. And the third consisted in this, that Queen Elizabeth, not being rightful heir to the Crown, could not keep it but by renouncing a Church which would never allow of such injustice. I could not be persuaded that the Holy Ghost would ever have made use of such motives as these were to change religion; and was astonished that the bishops, if they had no other intention but to re-establish the doctrine of the Primitive Church, had not attempted it before the schism of Henry the Eighth, which was grounded upon such unjustifiable pretences.

Being troubled with scruples I began to make some reflections upon those points of doctrine wherein we differed from the Catholics, and to that purpose had recourse to the Holy Scripture, and though I pretended not perfectly to understand it, I found notwithstanding several points which to me seemed very plain, and I cannot but wonder that I remained so long time without taking notice of them; amongst these were the real presence of our Saviour in the Sacrament, the infallibility of the Church, Confession, and Prayer for the

Dead. I treated of these particulars severally with two of the most learned bishops of England, and discoursing upon those subjects, they both told me that it was to be wished that the Church of England had retained several things it has altered; as for example, Confession; which without doubt is of divine institution. They told me also that Prayer for the Dead had been used in the Primitive Church during the first centuries, and that they themselves did daily observe those things though they desired not publicly to own these doctrines; and having pressed one of them something earnestly touching these things, he frankly told me that if he had been bred up in the Catholic religion he should not have left it, but being now a member of that Church which believed all the articles necessary to salvation, he thought he should do ill to quit it, because he was beholden to that Church for his baptism, and he should thereby give occasion of great scandal unto others. All these discourses were a means to increase the desire I had to embrace the Roman Catholic religion, and added much to the inward trouble of my mind; but the fear I had to be hasty in a matter of that importance made me act warily, with all precautions necessary in such a case. I prayed incessantly to God he would be pleased to inform me in the truth concerning these points whereof I doubted. Upon Christmas-day going to receive the Sacrament at the King's Chapel, I found myself in a greater trouble than ever I had been in, neither was it possible for me to be at quiet, until I had discovered myself to a certain Catholic, who presently brought me a priest; he was the first of them with whom I ever conversed, and the more I conversed with him the more I found myself to be confirmed in the resolution I had taken. It was, I thought, impossible to doubt of these words, "This is my body;"

and I am verily persuaded our Saviour, who is Truth itself, and hath promised to continue with his Church to the world's end, would never suffer these Holy Mysteries to be communicated to the laity, only under one kind. If it were inconsistent with his institution of that Sacrament, I am not able to dispute touching these things with anybody, and if I were, I would not go about to do it, but I content myself to have writ these to justify the change I have made of my religion, and call God to witness I had not done it had I believed I could have been saved in that Church whereof till then I was a member. I protest seriously I have not been induced to this by any worldly interest or motives, neither can the truth of this my protestation be rationally doubted by any person, since it was evident that hereby I left all my friends, and very much prejudiced my reputation; but having seriously considered myself whether I ought to renounce my position in the other world, to enjoy the advantage of my present being here, I assure you I found no difficulty at all to resolve the contrary, for which I render thanks to God, who is the Author of all goodness.

My only prayer to Him is, that the poor Catholics of this kingdom may not be persecuted on my account; and I beseech God to grant me patience in my own afflictions, and that what tribulation soever his goodness hath appointed for me, I may so go through with them, as that I may hereafter enjoy a happiness for all eternity.

Given at St. James's this 20th of August, 1670.

JOHN WILLIAMS, BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

[The Lord Keeper Williams was a prominent man in his day. His feud with Laud was one of the early incidents of the reign of Charles I., which marked out the growing dissensions between the Puritans and the Roman Catholics. He was appointed Lord Keeper and Bishop of Lincoln in 1621, but having incurred the displeasure of the King, was removed from his dignities through the influence of Buckingham, and thrown into the Tower, where he remained for three years and a half. He petitioned the King by the Queen's mediation, but Laud interposed, and his petition was refused. The Parliament met in the November after the date of the following letter, and sending the Usher of the Black Rod to demand his liberation from the Lieutenant of the Tower, restored him to his seat in the House.]

TO THE MOST HONOURABLE AND MY MOST NOBLE LORD, THOMAS, EARL OF ARUNDEL AND SURREY.

My most honourable and most noble Lord,

Not the hope of being able for the small remainder of my life to perform any proportionable service or gratitude unto your good lordship for your former justice and favours towards me, by which I enjoy that little remainder I have of any civil or political being, but that innate propension which nature hath planted in every man's heart, to repair thither for help where he hath formerly found relief, makes me (otherwise of myself not forward in this kind of boldness) to rush thus unseasonably upon your lordship's more serious affairs, upon these occasions of storms and adversities.

The tower of London, my noble lord, is, for his Majesty's greater affairs, from a fair palace and quiet abode, turned of late to a fort or citadel, and become so full of soldiers, and that kind of din or noise, which is most adverse and contrary to retired thoughts, and the disposition of a student, so that as I have been sequestered for above these three years past from the company of the living, so am I now bereaved from any conversation with the dead, and kept close prisoner from men and books in effect, until such time in the evening as these people are withdrawn unto their private huts and cabins.

May it please your good lordship, therefore, out of your own nobleness and pity, to procure me to be removed from this prison to any other place of abode where I may enjoy a little fresh and dry air, upon what terms, limitations, and conditions the King's Majesty, or the lords, shall hold convenient—the rather, my good lord, because there is received (or now due), out of my poor sequestered estate, half as much more as my fine comes unto.

For his Majesty's last offence conceived against me, about a proposition made unto, and recalled from Mr. Hambden, in twenty-four hours, I have to his Majesty taken the fault wholly upon myself, because others will participate of no burthens of this kind. It was in Hilary Term that the motion was made unto me as from his Majesty, to petition for the putting off that hearing, with full assurance I should be presently restored to my poor fortunes, and when I had so petitioned, I was notwithstanding kept from all means and liberty, my Parliament writ stopped, and I never had any particular (though I earnestly called for it) brought unto me in his Majesty's name, only on the very night before the last Parliament was broken up, and then God knoweth in what matter and manner that proposition or rather question was put upon me. Now my business with my kinsman, Mr. Hambden, was begun and ended ten or twelve days before that time, which his Majesty, peradventure, is not informed of; and further, I do not go about to excuse this accident, otherwise than in humbly craving pardon of his Majesty if I have offended.

Lastly, whereas your lordship, as Mr. Lieutenant tells me, hath heard complaints of some brabbles between a servant of mine and some of the warders of the Tower, be pleased to understand that that warder who complained unto me was quite drunk, as it seems my man was also, who hath been sufficiently punished already, both by Mr. Lieutenant and the warders, and more severely by myself. But it is not worth the troubling of your good lordship with what passed between that one warder and me; seeing that I am assured, and have good witness thereof, he was in such a case at that time as I could not possibly understand him, and therefore he might easily misunderstand me, and in consequence thereof misreport me.

My lord, whether I shall receive this favour or any other from your lordship, I am, for those great ones already past, and the esteem I have ever borne of your most noble person, lady, and family,

Your lordship's most obliged servant and bedesman,

Jo. Lincoln.*

Tower, this 2nd of October, 1640.

---

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

CURIOUS STORY RELATED BY BISHOP TILLOTSON.

[From the Analecta Fairfaxiana.]

July 18, 1691. This day the Archbishop of Canterbury (John Tillotson) told me this story:

Sir Edward Turner, Alderman of London, and one of the Governors of Bedlam, told him that in his time it happened that some gentlemen going to see Bedlam, a mad-woman there, upon the sight of them, cried out, "My child! my child!" When they went away, she desired the keeper to go after him, and beg him, for God's sake, to come back again, and let her kiss him. The keeper, observing that she spoke it with so earnest and seeming sober look, prevailed with the gentleman to return and give her that satisfaction. She embraced him, and kissed him, and told him she was sure he was her son. The company wondering at it, asked him if he knew what she meant. He stood amazed, and after a while told them, for aught he knew, he might be her child, for he was spirited away when he was a child and carried to Barbadoes, and he never knew his father or his mother. He was now a rich merchant. The mad-woman bade him pull of his clothes, and if he were her son, as she said she was sure he was, he had two moles upon his shoulder, pointing to the very part, which he owned he had, and showed them to her and all the company, and owned her for his own mother, and from that hour she came to herself and was cured of her madness.

THE "POPISH PLOT."

[This letter "needs no bush." It discloses the efforts of a very active party to convert England to Catholicism. It was written, probably, early in 1678. Father La Chaise, to whom it is addressed, was private Confessor to the King of France. Coleman was one of the persons denounced by Titus Oates. He was a convert from Protestantism, a busy intriguer in the pay of Barillon, and kept up a secret correspondence with the French Court.]

MR. COLEMAN TO FATHER LA CHAISE.

I SENT your reverence a tedious long letter on our 29th September, to inform you of the progress of our affairs for these two or three last years last past, having now again the opportunity of a very sure hand to convey this by. I have sent you a cypher, because our Parliament now drawing on, I may possibly have occasion to send something which you may be willing enough to know, and may be necessary for us that you should. When I may want the convenience of a messenger, when any thing occurs of more concern than ordinary, which may not be fit to be trusted even to a cypher alone, I will (to make such a thing more secure) write it in lemon between the lines of a letter, which shall have nothing in it visible, but what I care not who sees, but dried by a warm fire shall discover what is written. See that if the letter comes to your hands, and, upon drying it, anything appears more than before, you may be sure no body has seen it by the way. I will not trouble you with that way of writing but upon special occasions; then I will give you a hint to direct you to look for it by concluding my visible letter with something of fire or burning, by which mark you may please to know that there is something underneath, and how my letter is to be used to find it out.

We have here a mighty work upon our hands, no less than the conversion of three kingdoms, and by that perhaps the utter subduing of a pestilent heresy which has domineered over a great part of the northern world a long time: there never were such hopes of success since the death of our Queen Mary, as now in our days, when God has given us a Prince who is become, I may say by miracle, jealous of being the author and instrument of so glorious a work; but the opposition we are sure to meet with is also like to be great, so that it imports us to get all the aid and assistance we can, for the harvest is great, and the labourers but few. That which we rely upon most, next to God Almighty's providence, and the favour of my master the Duke, is the mighty mind of his Most Christian Majesty, whose generous soul inclines him to great undertakings, which being managed by your reverence's piety and prudence will certainly make him look upon this as most suitable to himself, and best becoming his power and thoughts; so that I hope you will pardon me if I be very troublesome to you upon this occasion, from whom I expect the greatest help we can hope for. I must confess I think his Christian Majesty's temporal interest is so much attracted to that of his Royal Highness, which can never be considerable, but upon the growth and advancement of Catholic religion, that his ministers cannot give him better advice even in a political sense, abstracting from the considerations of the next world, than that of our blessed Lord, to seek first the kingdom of heaven and the righteousness thereof, that all other things may be added unto him. Yet

I know his Most Christian Majesty has more powerful motives suggested to him by his own devotion and your reverence's zeal for God's glory, to engage him to afford us the best help he can in our present circumstances, but we are a little unhappy in this, that we cannot press his Majesty by his present minister here upon these latter arguments, which are most strong; but only upon the first; Monsieur Ruvigny's sense and ours differing very much upon them, though we agree perfectly upon the rest. And indeed though he be a very able man as to his Majesty's service in matters where religion is not concerned, yet I believe it were much more happy considering the post he is in, that his temper were of such a sort that we might deal clearly with him throughout, and not be forced to stop short in a discourse of consequence, and leave the most material part out because we know it will shock his particular opinion, and so perhaps meet with dislike and opposition though never so necessary to the main concern.

I am afraid we shall find too much reason for this complaint this next session of Parliament; for had we had one here from his Most Excellent Majesty, who had taken the whole business to heart, and who would have represented the state of our case truly as it is to his Majesty, I do not doubt but his Most Excellent Majesty would have engaged himself further in the affair than at present I fear he has done, and by his approbation have given such counsels as have been offered his Royal Highness by those few Catholics who have access to him, and who are bent to serve him, and advance Catholic religion with all their might, more credit with his Royal Highness than I fear they have found, and have assisted them also with his purse, as far as 100,000 crowns, or some such sum, which to him is very inconsiderable, but would have been to them of greater use than can be imagined, towards gaining others to help them, or at least not to oppose them. If we had been so happy as to have had his Most Excellent Majesty with us to this degree, I would have answered with my life for such success this session as would have put the interest of Catholic religion, his Royal Highness, and his Most Christian Majesty out of all danger for the time to come. But wanting those helps of recommending those necessary counsels which have been given his Royal Highness in such manner as to make him think them worth his accepting, and fit to govern himself by, and of those advantages which a little money, well managed, would have gained, as I am afraid we shall not be much better at the end of this session than we are now, I pray God we do not lose ground. By my next, which will be ere long, I shall be able to tell your reverence more particularly what we are like to expect. In the mean time I most humbly beg your holy prayers for all our undertakings, and that you will be pleased to honour me so far as to esteem me what I am, entirely and without any reserve,

Mon très reverend père, de votre Roi,
Le plus humble, plus obeissant serviteur,
COLEMAN.

FOR OUR VERY GOOD LORD, THE EARL OF DANBY, LORD HIGH TREASURER, AND LORD LIEUTENANT OF THE CITY OF YORK, AND COUNTY OF THE SAME, AND OF THE WEST RIDING OF THE COUNTY OF YORK.

AFTER Our very hearty commendations to your lordship: Whereas information hath been given upon oath touching a dangerous conspiracy against the life of his Sacred Majesty, and in consequence thereof, of great disturbance that must ensue in the kingdom, We do therefore, in pursuance of his Majesty's command, hereby pray and require your lordship to use the most effectual means that in your wisdom you shall think fit, to cause all the habitations of the Papists, in that county and city, or of those who are reputed Papists, to be searched for arms of war and offence, and that all such arms be gathered and laid up in safe custody; and your lordship is to send diligently to this Board an account of all such arms, and of the parties disarmed, that so, as the occasion shall require, your lordship may receive our further orders in this behalf. And so we bid your lordship very heartily farewell. From the Council Chamber in Whitehall, the 30th day of September, 1678.

Your lordship's very loving friends,

Finch, C.,

Anglesey, Bathe,
Carberry, C. Craven,
Lauderdale, N. Duresme,
H. Coventry, G. Carteret,
J. Ernle, Robert Southwell.

September 30th, 1678.

OFFICERS APPOINTED FOR THE POPISH GOVERNMENT BY THE JESUITICAL PARTY.—30th September, 1678.

Lord Bellasis, General; Lord Powis, Treasurer; Lord Arundel of Wardour, Chancellor; Major-General Lambert, Adjutant-General; Lord Stafford, Paymaster; Lord Peters, Lieutenant-General; Sir Francis Ratcliff, Lieutenant-General; Counsellor Langhorne, Attorney-General; Colonel Lascelles to have a regiment; Mr. Roper, a regiment; Lord

Baltimore, a regiment; Collier, a Benedictine monk, to be Bishop of London; Whitebread, to be Archbishop of Canterbury; Sir William Godolphin, Lord Privy Seal; Mr. Coleman, Secretary of State; Mr. Winter, Mr. Roper, Mr. Ratcliff, Mr. Madburne, Mr. Parry, Mr. Garrett, Captains; Sir George Wakeman, Doctor of the Army, who hath received, as it is made, 5000*l.* in gold to poison the King, and a promise of 10,000*l.* more when the business was done.

Officers of the Roman party in Ireland are:—Lord Talbot as General; Peter Temple to be Archbishop of Dublin, and as the pay-officer of our sea-service, and to be employed about shipping none but Frenchmen.

This came last post. Several lords are committed to the Tower.

LIST OF NAMES MR. BEDDOW HATH DISCOVERED CONCERNED IN THE LATE POPISH CONSPIRACY.—7TH NOVEMBER, 1678.

The Lord Carrington; Lord Brudenell; Sir George Winter; Sir Francis Radcliffe, and his two sons; Lord Powis; Sir Francis Mannock, two sons, and kinsman; Mr. Ralph Sheldon, and his steward; Mr. Griffin; Mr. Henry Tichbourne; Mr. Timbleley; Dr. Moor; Daniel Arthur, an eminent merchant in London (who was to have furnished 20,000*l.* towards carrying on the design); Sir John Gage; Mr. Marvell; Mr. Carrill; Mr. Vaughan's son; Mr. James Hamilton; Mr. Speedwich, Governor of Chepstow castle; and George Beaumont.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, TO BE COMMUNICATED TO THE REST OF THE DEPUTY-LIEUTENANTS OF THE WEST RIDING OF THE COUNTY OF YORK.

[For his Majesty's especial service, These.]

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,

I HEREWITH send you inclosed the commands I have received from his Majesty by the Lords of the Council, and do recommend the same to your care to be duly executed. In order to it I desire you will appoint a meeting among yourselves as soon as may be, and I can give you no additional instruction by which to govern yourselves in this affair, saving that what arms shall be taken in pursuance of this order, I desire you will cause to be conveyed to Clifford's Tower at York, and to be delivered into the custody of my Lord Frescheville, or the chief officer upon the place, taking a note under his hand for the receipt of them. I desire you will from time to time make me a return of your proceedings herein, that I may be enabled to give their Lordships a particular satisfactory account in the matter expected from me. I am,

My lord and gentlemen,

Your most affectionate and most humble servant,

DANBY.

Cockpit, October 3, 1678.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HENRY LORD FAIRFAX, SIR JOHN KAYE, BART., JOHN RAMSDEN, ESQ., AND THE REST OF THE DEPUTY-LIEUTENANTS OF THE WEST RIDING, IN THE COUNTY OF YORK.

My Lord and Gentlemen,

I have received your letter of the 10th instant, and have consulted Mr. Attorney General upon that point mentioned therein, of the necessity of a common officer to assist the constable, and his opinion is clear that that clause in the statute is where a search is made by the authority of the lord-lieutenant, or two deputy-lieutenants, of their own suspicion; but where the warrant is from the King's privy council upon an extraordinary occasion, the search may be legally made by the constable or tithingman, without a commissioned officer. However, that your lordship may constitute such officers (if you please to trouble yourself with the command), I have sent your lordship a commission for colonel, together with some blank commissions for such under officers as you shall appoint. I have given Sir Thomas Slingsby the necessary commission for his regiment, and have sent those for my own regiment to Sir Ralph Knight. I intend to divide the whole into four regiments, and desire your opinions what may be the best division of them. I shall also, within a little while, dispose of the horse, but do first desire to be truly informed what their number will be. In the meantime I hope this will serve to put in execution the present commands of the council, and I desire I may receive as speedy an account of it as is possible.

I am, my lords and gentlemen,

Your most affectionate friend and humble servant,

Danby.

London, October 19*th*, 1678.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD HENRY FAIRFAX, AT DENTON, YORKSHIRE.

My Lord,

I humbly beg your lordship's pardon that I have no sooner returned you my thanks for the honour of your letter, upon the receipt of which I went to Sir Henry Goodricke, who told me he had received the papers which I told him I had a hint from your lordship to inquire after, and he tells me he delivered them to my Lord Treasurer, and so consequently you may guess what is become of them. I have not heard anything farther about them; but to return your lordship news for news. The murder of Godfrey is now fully discovered by one Prance, a silversmith, in Princes' Street, Covent Garden; the fact was done in Somerset House by himself and five others: to wit, Garnet, a priest; Kelly, said to be an Irishman; Green, an under officer in the Queen's Chapel; Hill, an ale-house keeper in Stanhope Street; and Reney, the porter of Somerset House. The relation now at large you may please to command from my wife. The King has ordered a special commission of Oyer and Terminer for the speedy trial of those that are taken; to wit, Green, Reney, and Hill. There is also another witness come in for the plot against his Majesty, one Dugdale, a Staffordshire man, who speaks plainly against my Lord Stafford. I will give your lordship no farther trouble at present, but humbly kiss my lady's hands, and am, my lord,

Your lordship's most humble servant,

Will. Palmes.

London, the 28*th October*, 1678.

The Captain is your humble servant. I pray take no notice to Sir Henry Goodricke, &c., of my free expressions to your lordship, which I hope will go no farther.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HENRY LORD FAIRFAX, AT DENTON, IN YORKSHIRE, THESE.

MY LORD,

I HAVE been with Captain Sherrard, and acknowledged satisfaction upon your judgment. I likewise spoke to Mr. Pudsey to take his advice about proceeding for the obtaining the hangings for your lordship, who desires your lordship or my lady to write to my lord duke or my lady, and it would then certainly be done. I shall not proceed further therein till I have your further instructions about it, and if you please to send your letter to me, I will not only deliver it, but press the obtaining your lordship's desire therein; though I am confident there will not be any such occasion, but that there will immediately be order for the delivering thereof. I do imagine your lordship has had an account of Mr. Coleman's letters writ to the French King's confessor, to give him an account of two or three years' transactions in this kingdom, and proposing wages for reformation of religion, and accomplishing the design of this plot: he was before the Lords on Tuesday last, but would discover little. He declares there is enough known to condemn him, but he cannot reveal so much as will save him, and concludes himself unfortunate thereby (which I cannot but join with him in opinion in that particular). Staley, the goldsmith's son, was tried to-day at the King's Bench, and condemned. Coleman is reported to come to trial on Saturday, and also Atkins, who was one concerned in the murder of Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey. The Earl of Shaftesbury promotes the prosecution of this business and secluding the Catholic lords from sitting in the House very vigorously.

Mr. Spalding, who was Baron Thorpe's nephew, and now governor of Chepstow Castle, is suspected to be deeply concerned in this conspiracy, and I fear the Lord Bellasis is more than ordinarily engaged in it. There is a proclamation come out to-day for apprehending all Popish priests and Jesuits, with a promise of 20*l.* reward to any that shall apprehend any one of them. Yesterday was an order of the Commons to make an address to the King to issue out his proclamation, with a promise of a reward and pardon to any that should make a further discovery of this plot. It was yesterday reported the constable and lieutenant of the Tower were displaced, but I cannot find it warranted. Secretary Williams being committed to the Tower for granting commissions to Irish Papists, was on Tuesday released by the King's special command, but the Commons not taking notice thereof, ordered an address to be made, to show the reasons of his commitment, and to desire he might not be discharged, but I cannot understand what answer he gave them to it. A letter of Coleman's, writ in cyphers, was shown to him, but he would not read it. What further commands you please to give me, be pleased to direct them to Gray's Inn, for,

My lord,
Your honour's most humble,
And obliged servant,
JA. BABINGTON.

Gray's Inn, 20th November, 1678.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HENRY LORD FAIRFAX,
AT DENTON, YORKSHIRE.

MY LORD,

I HAVE dispatched that affair by Mr. Andrew Burton, which person you will find named in the warrant for taking out the judgment; he has had a warrant from me to take it off from the file; my hand and seal is at the warrant; Mr. Palmes, a witness, and my servant. Your son, Mr. Fairfax, did see it delivered as my act and deed; the reason I did not employ Mr. Baggington was that he would not come near me. My attorney doth assure me that the business is done. Pray, my lord, at your leisure, you will be pleased to pay my son Bennet 15*l.*, due to me upon the account you may remember; for what this is my daughter's money, that gives me the confidence to desire it. Now as to news. The discovery of this great affair goes slowly on; where it sticks, God Almighty knows. Staley, the goldsmith, was this day hanged, drawn, and quartered; to-morrow Mr. Coleman, the Duchess of York's secretary, comes to his trial. There are about fifty priests and jesuits in gaol; the eight lords in the Tower are prisoners at large; the Lord Berkshire, a Papist, is gone for France, which is something wondered at; and many more things. God in heaven bless his Majesty with long life.

Your lordship's
Most affectionate humble servant to command,
PHILL. SHERARD.

November 26*th*, 1678.

THE MURDER OF SIR EDMONDSBURY GODFREY.

[Francis Caryll was one of the persons who was accused (wrongfully, if the deposition which follows may be relied upon, and it certainly looks like truth,) of participation in the "Popish plot" of Titus Oates. The story is well known. Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey was the magistrate before whom the informations of Tonge and Oates were sworn. Soon afterwards Sir Edmondsbury was missed from his house for five days, and at the end of that time his body was found in a ditch near Primrose Hill, with his own sword run through it, his pockets turned inside out, and a dark mark round his neck, as if in addition to being run through he had also been strangled. His body was exposed in the public streets for two days, and large rewards were offered for the apprehension of the murderers, who were never discovered, but persons were executed for the crime who declared their innocence to the last. Francis Caryll, it seems, had a very narrow escape. The murder of Sir Edmondsbury was assumed as conclusive proof of the existence of a "Popish plot." It was taken for granted that he was murdered by the Papists, a suspicion which was confirmed by the anagram of his name, out of which some ingenious individual formed the sentence, "I find murdered by rogues." His funeral was celebrated with extraordinary pomp. Seventy-two divines in full canonicals preceded the corpse, which was followed to the grave by thousands of persons of the highest rank and eminence. This deposition is from Mr. Bentley's Collection.]

THE DEPOSITION OF FRANCIS CARYLL CONCERNING HIS IMPRISONMENT.

The deponent was upon that day fortnight after Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey was murdered, waiting with his coach in Wood Street, and was at last called to the Half-

Moon Tavern in Cheapside, to attend on the Earl of Ardglass and some other gentlemen, whom he perceived were like to stay long, and it being twelve at night he was resolved to stay no longer for them; at which Mr. Fowler, the master of the said tavern, being angry, threatened this deponent that he would make him lie three months in prison if he would not stay; but this deponent, not regarding his threat, did the next day drive his coach that way, and waited some time at the same door. But at night, being on his way home at the bottom of Snow Hill, a certain person who had been watchman, met this deponent and advised him not to go home, for Captain Richardson and a great many persons were there to apprehend him about the death of Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey, and that therefore it would be best for him to keep some time out of the way; which notice, though it something terrified this deponent, he being apprehensive of what miseries he might suffer by imprisonment, yet his innocency overcame his fear; so that resigning himself to the protection of God, he drove home, where they to a great number, with Captain Richardson, the jailer of Newgate, awaited for him. These apprehending him, they carried him to Newgate by the instigation of the said Fowler as this deponent verily believes, and of another coachman who charged him falsely with certain words. There this deponent being examined by Richardson, whether he was a Papist or no, did declare he was not, and after many other questions, was by him that night put into the press-yard, where he might have starved with cold had not a certain poor barber, maliciously accused too, lent him a coat. The next day this deponent was with Captain Richardson carried to Wallingford House, where there was the Duke of Buckingham, the Marquis of Winchester, the Earl of Shaftesbury, the Lord Halifax, and another lord unknown to this deponent, who gave this deponent his oath, and then examined him what he knew concerning Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey's death, to which this deponent answered that he knew nothing concerning that matter but what was the common report. Then the Earl of Shaftesbury called him bloody-minded rogue, and threatened him with a cruel death, by being rolled down a hill in a barrel of nails; but the Duke of Buckingham declared he should not be so long a-dying, for he would run him (this deponent) through presently; and so, first striking him and calling him bloody rogue and dog, he then drew his sword and ran it several times at this deponent's breast, but seemed to be prevailed with by the Earl of Shaftesbury not to kill him presently, but to preserve him alive for some more cruel death. Then the Earl of Shaftesbury, saying it was time to go to Parliament, whispered Richardson in the ear and sent him back, having first menaced this deponent with the certainty of death: and in answer to the several protestations of this deponent of his innocency, he replied, Which was to be believed, such a murdering villain as this deponent, or a man of such credit as Mr. Fowler? Then this deponent was carried back to Newgate, and laid in a thing like a trough, in some place in the press-room, and there, with something laid upon him, he was in horrid torment kept for the space of three hours; the pain whereof, together with the expectation of certain death, almost stupified this deponent, so that being at last taken out and put into a coach by Captain Richardson, he fainted away, so that they were forced, with brandy and some other things poured down this deponent's throat, to fetch him to life again: which, when they had, he was by them carried to the house of the Marquis of Winchester, in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, where the aforesaid lords again were. There they brought forth a gentleman, very fine, unknown to this deponent, who said this deponent was the man who took up the body of Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey, in Somerset House. Then they told him that if he would confess that certain persons had hired him to take up the body there, he should have his pardon and 500*l.*, showing him a bag of gold: and if he was afraid of the parties he was to accuse, he should be lodged safe there, and have his wife with him, and a guard to secure him. To all which, when the deponent declared he knew nothing of the business, nor would accuse anybody of a thing so false, they then with new threats and reproaches thought to affright this deponent, as he verily believes; for the Earl of Shaftesbury bid him consider what a sad hearing it would be when the judge should say, "Take him away and hang him," to which this deponent replied, it would be a sadder to hear God say, "Take him, devil, he has forsworn himself." So, after much more than this the deponent can remember, he was taken back to Newgate, and there in the hall kept from Thursday until Sunday, without any sustenance, loaded with heavier irons than he is able to carry on his back in full strength, and chained down to the ground in the night to strong staples, and forced from extreme drought to drink his own urine; in this misery denied the admission of his wife to bring him necessaries, she being, as she is ready to depose, threatened by Captain Richardson for attempting to do it. At length, after four days' fasting from everything but his own urine, he was suffered to have something conveyed to him, but was kept in the dungeon, without bed or straw to lie on, for six weeks, and forced to wear chains that eat holes in his legs, having no friend suffered to speak to him, but given out by the jailer to be a madman, that nobody that passed by might believe his lamentable complaints. Thus, after having been a third time examined and affrighted by the lords at Westminster, telling him he should be hanged, and having been by them (as the time before) called hardened Papist, dog, and bloody villain, and by the Duke of Buckingham hove by the hair, buffeted, and pricked in the breast with his sword, because he would not charge himself and other persons with so horrid a fact of which he was wholly ignorant, and after having in the depth of winter suffered all the torments and miseries aforesaid, and many more too long to be named, during thirteen weeks' imprisonment in Newgate, he was permitted to give bail; and this deponent, notwithstanding his innocency, as is apparent by the trials of the persons that have suffered for that fact, yet continues under bail,and is daily threatened and abused by several malicious persons to his face, and, as he is informed, particularly by Mr. Fowler, who, as this deponent hath been told, threatens him with thirteen years' after his thirteen weeks' imprisonment, which threats and reports, together with the infirmity of his body, and extreme poverty occasioned by his said imprisonment, has reduced this deponent to a deplorable condition, not knowing where in the world to apply for relief.

This I am ready to depose upon my oath when required.

FRANCIS CARYLL.

Witnesses present at the signing of this.

THO. CURTIS,
JOHN WOODMAN.

SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

RELATION TOUCHING THE CALUMNIES OF LORD HATTON AGAINST SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

About the midst of the month of September, 1651, Mr. Dean of Peterborough, being one day at Sir Richard Browne's house towards the evening, and walking with him, his wife and daughter in the great room, upon occasion of speech of my Lord Hatton, Sir Richard Browne complaining of his calumnies in his reports of his being a Presbyterian, and particularly of the truth of what he was taxed to have said to the Prince of Condé's secretary; Mr. Dean of Peterborough replied, that my Lord Hatton could say a great deal more how that Sir Richard Browne had showed so much zeal to the Presbyterian cause in the earnest delivery of those papers to the King, which Mons. Herault directed to his Majesty (the day after the said M. Herault went from Beauvais), that the King was so offended with him that he affronted him at the delivery of the papers, and threw them in his face; to which Sir Richard Browne made answer that that was as great an untruth as could be said, and that he would take the Sacrament upon it that the King expressed no such passion, but only bid him deliver the papers to Mr. Secretary Nicholas, and that to Sir Richard Browne's best memory, the papers never came into the King's hands at all, but that he told the King of such papers, holding them in his own hand, and desired his Majesty that he would think fit to let them be put into Sir Edward Nicholas' hands as Mons. Herault's former papers had been.

Hereupon Sir Richard Browne took the first occasion to write to Mr. Secretary Nicholas, to desire him to inform him truly of what he could call to mind concerning the delivery of those papers to the King, and how the said papers came into his hands, whereupon Mr. Secretary Nicholas returned these ensuing letters and extracts:—

Extract of Mr. Secretary Nicholas' Letter to Sir Richard Browne, dated at Antwerp, 19th (29th) Sept. 1651.

As concerning Mons. Herault's papers, as far as I can call to mind, you gave them to me after you said you had acquainted his Majesty with the same, which was (I think) at Beauvais; and I never heard his Majesty ever express any the least indignation either against the papers or the person that sent them: but when at Breda, I asked his Majesty what he would have done thereupon; he commanded me to send a copy of them to Mr. Dean Stuart (who was then at Jersey), which accordingly I did, and wrote to him as his Majesty commanded me, and Mr. Dean can best tell you the effect thereof. This is all I can possibly call to mind of that business.

Postscript.—You may assure those that informed you that the King expressed such indignation against Mons. Herault and his papers, as to throw the same at his feet, that his Majesty is not at all subject to such passions, but of a singular and exemplary moderation.

Extract of Mr. Secretary Nicholas' Letter to Sir Richard Browne, dated at the Hague, 8th (18th) October, 1651.

I have (as you desired) herein sent you a letter open, to Mr. Dean Cosins, which, if it be to your mind, be pleased to seal and present to him. I think you shall do well not to be troubled at the vain reports of any that shall, from the performance of your duty in presenting of Mons. Fontaine's proposition, endeavour to infer you are affected to that hypocritical profession of religion called Presbytery. If you had refused to have presented the same or to have conveyed it to his Majesty, you may be sure those that sent it would have put it into some other hand to have done it, which probably might have been much more for their advantage. Those who cast aspersions on you for that action will do themselves most wrong.

COPY OF MR. SECRETARY NICHOLAS' LETTER TO MR. DEAN OF PETERBOROUGH, 8TH (18TH) OCTOBER, 1651.

MR. DEAN,

HAVING received a letter from Mr. Richard Browne, desiring me to advertise you what I know concerning his transmitting of Mr. Fontaine's fond proposition to the King, wherein I may not, for truth's sake, but affirm that he was (for aught I know or could possibly discern,) merely instrumental; and if he had in any measure been affected to it, he might, as he knew well, have put it into hands that would have sooner and more advanced it than myself. But indeed I must bear him witness that he was very industrious that it should not (as far as he could help it) come through any other hands than mine to his Majesty, who being made acquainted with it, commanded me to send the same to Mr. Dean Stuart (then at Jersey) to consider of it, and to advise what was fit to be done upon it. Though his Majesty did not to me seem to like it at all, yet he did not express so much passion against it when it was presented to him, as care that it should be fully answered; wherein his Majesty expressed much piety and prudence, the proposition itself being (as

Mr. Dean Stuart can tell you,) very vain, to say no otherwise of it. I was very glad of this occasion to present my affectionate service to you, being very really and truly, sir,

Your most humble servant,

EDWARD NICHOLAS.

Upon Wednesday the 25th of October, Sir Richard Browne delivered the forementioned letter to Mr. Dean Cosins, who the Friday following showed it to my Lord Hatton, and that afternoon came to Sir Richard Browne into his study (where his wife and daughter then were), and in their presence told him that he had been with my Lord Hatton, and showed him Mr. Secretary Nicholas's letter. That my Lord Hatton made slight of it; that he did not value what Mr. Secretary Nicholas could say concerning the delivery of the papers to the King, because he was not then present, but that he (the Lord Hatton) was sure that with his own eyes he saw the King, not indeed out of any anger or to affront Sir Richard Browne, but indignation to the papers, which Herault writ in the ale-house, throw them down at his feet, and that this he would maintain whensoever he saw the King. All which Sir Richard Browne did then aver, and doth still affirm, to be as great an untruth as can be said, and that to his certain knowledge the King did not throw those papers at his feet, nor express any anger to Sir Richard Browne, or indignation against the papers.*

---

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

THOMAS TICKELL, THE POET.

[Thomas Tickell, who had recommended himself to Addison by some complimentary verses on the opera of Rosamond, held the office of under-secretary during Addison's administration, and continued in office under his successor, Mr. Craggs. He was afterwards secretary to the Lords Justices in Ireland, and died in 1740. This letter is from Mr. Bentley's Collection.]

SIR,

MR. SECRETARY ADDISON being indisposed, has commanded me to acknowledge your letter of May 28th, to which he will return an answer as soon as he has his Majesty's commands upon the particulars mentioned in it.

You will have heard from your correspondents on this side the disputes amongst the Whigs in parliament, which, in some matters of little importance, seemed to turn against the court, by reason of the absence of several members and the nature of some trivial questions which were a surprise upon the House of Commons. But in the late great struggle about my Lord Cadogan, the discontented Whigs, assisted by the whole body of the Tories, had the mortification to lose their aim, and it is not doubted but the majority now declared on one side, will receive daily accessions from such as are willing always to be with the majority. The present expectations are about my Lord Oxford's trial appointed to be on Thursday next by the Lords: but the Committee of Secrecy not having yet made their report of the present state of the evidence, I cannot yet give you any guesses of the event. I take this liberty to give you the news most talked of even before I have your commands to that purpose. When I shall have that honour, there is no service which I shall not do you with all possible pleasure and diligence. I have the honour to be, with great respect, sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

THO. TICKELL.

Whitehall, June 11*th*, 1717.

I must beg that any news I shall send you may not be quoted as coming from me.

HENRY, EARL OF CLARENDON.

[The son of the Chancellor. He was Lord Privy Seal in the first year of James II., and resigned in the following year. Upon the Revolution, he withdrew altogether from public life.]

HENRY, EARL OF CLARENDON, TO WILLIAM LOWNDES, ESQ.

SIR,

THOUGH I do not doubt of your kindness in this very great difficulty I am under, yet I must beg leave to acquaint you with the melancholy story I had from my poor house yesterday. My timber is cut down, and I do expect to hear, within a week, that the house is pulling down to sell the materials; it had been begun before this time, but that they did not agree about the value of them, which I am satisfied will soon be agreed. The timber cannot now be preserved, but the pulling down the house may be yet prevented by my Lord Treasurer's favour; let me entreat you therefore to beseech my lord, for God's sake, to move the Queen in my behalf. His lordship knows I can apply to her Majesty no way but through him; and I cannot but believe, if the Queen knew how small a sum would preserve this poor house, she would have the compassion to afford it me, especially since my Lord Treasurer may do it in what way he pleaseth, as you know I have proposed. I would fain wait on my lord myself, having other things to speak to him of, if I might be admitted; but I have not been able to obtain access, though I have endeavoured it by all means for above these six months, and sometimes when I was not very well able to do it, upon the account of my health, which, I thank God, is at present better. I beg you to do what you can for me, and as soon as you can, for you see how the time pincheth me.

I am, sir,
Your very humble servant,
CLARENDON.*

May 14th, 1709.

TITUS OATES.

[This infamous person, who upon his first disclosures was rewarded with a pension of 1200*l.* a year, and lodged for safety at Whitehall, and afterwards, on the accession of James II., indicted for perjury, sentenced to the pillory five times, and whipped from Aldgate to Newgate and from thence to Tyburn, was carried into public favour again at the Revolution by the current of religious prejudices, and rewarded by a pension of 1000*l.*, which he lived to enjoy till 1705. Here we find him in confidential communication with the Duke of Bolton! This curious letter is from Mr. Bentley's Collection.]

TITUS OATES TO THE DUKE OF BOLTON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

I TOLD your Grace in my last, that Huy was besieged: I am assured that Sir Cloudesly Shovel did dispatch one Masters to Ostend for pilots in order to conduct the fleet to

---

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

Dunkirk; this Masters upon his arrival at Ostend, dispatching his business for which he was sent, and hearing that the camp was not far off, went to the camp, found that news was come to the King that Huy was surrendered into the hands of the confederates, and of this he wrote Sir Henry Goodrick an account; and further saith, that when the King saw him, he asked him his business: he answered that he was sent over by Sir Cloudesly Shovel for pilots; the King told him there were not pilots there, which was item enough for our friend Masters to hasten his return to the Downs.

Mareschal Noailles sent to Tourville to come out with the fleet in order to his besieging of Barcelona, which Tourville told him he durst not, because of the greatness of Admiral Russell's fleet, and then Noailles resolved to block up Barcelona by land; but Russell landed 3000 men at Barcelona, which made that design to be laid aside and Noailles to withdraw further from that place.

Letters from Prince Lewis say that several entire regiments are come over to him from D'Lorge's camp.

Some think that the King hath an eye upon Dunkirk.

Several traitors will be brought to trial on Monday, the 10th instant.

The Irish Lord, Kingston, and his brother, are pardoned for their rebellion in Ireland.

Warwick is consumed by fire which began in a flax-shop in that town.

The escape of Parker lies at the Lord Lucas's door.

I am

Your Grace's humble servant,

TITUS OATES.

September 8th, 1694.

JOHN COSINS.

[Dean Cosins, afterwards Bishop of Durham, so frequently alluded to by Evelyn in his Diary, was the father of the writer of the following letter. The Dean was accused by the Parliament of being favourable to the Roman Catholic doctrines, and on that ground deprived of his livings; but the practice of his whole life proved that the charge was false. Retiring to France in 1643, he officiated for seventeen years in the Chapel of the Embassy at Paris, where he strictly observed the form of worship of the English Protestant Church. At the Restoration he was restored to his benefices, and presented to the see of Durham.

His son, who wrote this letter of explanation to Evelyn, embraced the Roman Catholic faith at the age of twenty-six; an act for which he paid the penalty of disinheritance. Evelyn's letter to the proselyte, alluded to in the succeeding communication from Dean Cosins, was no doubt an answer to this exculpatory appeal, and is probably the same letter which Evelyn tells us he was urged to publish, but which he did not think it "convenient" to do, "for fear of displeasing her Majesty the Queen." (*Diary*, I. 263). Dean Cosins says that the King desired its suppression for the same reason.

For all these letters to and from Evelyn we are indebted to Mr. Bentley's Collection.]

DR. JOHN COSINS TO MR. EVELYN.

DEAR MR. EVELYN,

I HAVE been told that upon the news of my conversion to the Catholic faith, and of my retirement thereupon, it hath been given out amongst divers that I have been inveigled by the priests of our nation, allured by fair promises to desert my former religion, and now by them detained in such restraint, as not to be permitted to converse with, or to repair unto any friends. Hence some have proceeded to exclaim, What a barbarous and unconscionable thing it is, to separate a son from his father, and to encourage him in this act of disobedience against him. Weak refuges these, alas! to defend themselves; much weaker arguments to reduce me from where I am. I beseech you, therefore, to know, and also to let others know, that I cannot but esteem this report as a foul aspersion cast upon myself; and I make bold upon this occasion to beg this favour of you, confiding to the candid and uninterested ingenuity that I have found in you, that you will afford it me, seeing it is only to assist me to manifest the truth, without prejudice to any.

Surely I have neither so much debility and weakness in my capacity; so little understanding, constancy, and resolution; so much of the child, nor so little of the man, as to be fooled into another religion by fair words, or be kept in it by threats. What I have done I assure you is wholly voluntary; not violently forced, not foolishly persuaded, not drawn, except I may be said to be sweetly drawn, which I willingly confess, by the powerful hand of Almighty God, whose infinite goodness hath been pleased to strengthen my heart, after some years of reluctancy, to embrace His faith; and hath also given me a firm and solid resolution, as I hope, never to deviate from His right ways. Believe me, sir, these desires of mine were not first conceived nor discovered in France, (I mean, very privately to or by some friends of mine, Catholics, in secret discourse, which was sometimes my own desire to consent myself;) I have had them in some degree a longer time, though I deferred the execution of them until now, not so much to satisfy a discontented world that I did not with temerity resolve, as out of a private and eager apprehension that I might, if any where, meet here in Paris with clear satisfaction. *Hæc amor et majora velit.*

When I had sought here for this quiet to my troubled mind with all the diligence I could possibly use, without discovering myself to any, (which I must confess I durst not do, on one side; and on the other side, as yet, I would not,) neither in this way could I find any repose; what had I to do but to extricate myself from the labyrinth of those ambiguities which had caused me to doubt, which I did privately too, by hearing the public disputations of the reverend fathers of many several religious houses and orders, and other scholars; by reading some manuscripts dictated by the learned doctors of the Sorbonne; by frequenting their lectures, in which truth was so clear and solid, so evident, so perspicuous and convincing, that in my opinion no man was able to resist it:

> ———— potius fugientia ripas
> Flumina divincat; rapidis aut ignibus distet.

Where is there yet any barbarism in our priests? Is it for keeping constant to their integrity of conscience? or, that I have turned not to those priests only, but to the Father of those priests, (whose ministers they are), my Saviour—*χριστος, ο ποιμην και επισκοπος των ψυχων*? or is it for rejoicing at the conversion of a sinner, which is the joy of the blessed angels in heaven? Though, sir, their wisdom and piety, their love of God in Christ, (for which they daily bear the cross of most opprobrious contumelies with great joy, patience, and long suffering,) doth carry them so transcendently above the noise of the world, that they need not, nor desire not, to have me assert them, or any else; yet out of an honest gratitude to their pious obligations (whom I have had the happiness to converse withal,) I cannot choose but vindicate their goodness and integrity, their innocence and piety, from these slanderous indignities, and heinous false aspersions (especially in this case) which without just indignation I cannot see so maliciously cast upon them.

But I am separated, they say, from my dear father, and remain in actual disobedience to his commands. If I be separated, that separation proceeds not from the instigation of any priest living. They have done no more than with joy received me into the Church of God, of which office they are not ashamed, or if they were, I should join myself to their present detractors and make their quarrel just.

If I obey not his commands, it is because I cannot hear them, and that is caused by my absence. Sir, it is not so new a thing for children to absent themselves, for some time, out of their parents' sight, when they have done any thing, though never so justly, which may seem to displease them. My design was to have discovered the business unto him in the best manner, and I believe I had done so, had not my resolutions been unexpectedly discovered, and I too suddenly surprised.

Believe me, sir, my absence proceedeth rather from the duty I confess to owe unto my dear father, than any disrespect; and if I esteemed it otherwise, I would rather have suffered much more than I could have expected, than to have withdrawn myself from him.

Had I not been assured the Catholic doctrine did not enjoin the payment of children's obedience and duty to their parents, I assure you it would have been a point that should have given me great distaste. And surely the grace of God cannot diminish our pious and natural affections, since it is the complement and perfection of all virtues. But herein I hope to give due satisfaction to the world, when at last Time (which is *edax rerum*) shall first digest all fears and disorders, and then rectify the understanding.

In the meanwhile, sir, I desire to give men this satisfaction, that I am free; and to forgive them their own freedom, in talking so dissolutely of my restraint.

Why should people so much concern themselves, as to slander so ignominiously (I will not say barbarously) innocent men on my behalf, if my desires of privacy be (as they are for aught they know,) out of a serious devotion to get into the Church as much as I can, apprehending the danger I was in, in being so long out of it?

This freedom, sir, I have taken with you, as well to quell those vulgar outcries, as to have a right understanding amongst us. Or if, after the trouble of reading these tedious lines, you will not take the trouble to communicate this for others' satisfaction, I hope yet I shall not quite lose my labour; but you will please to believe me yourself, in whose good opinion, as an ingenious and sober friend, I shall rest as content, as in that of the multitude.

I cannot be so confident as to think that any will receive a salutation from a disobedient; I shall therefore remit it awhile; and when this dark cloud is more dispersed and blown over that my candid innocence and integrity in this matter may appear, I shall take the boldness to present my service where it is due, though not with so much freedom and presumption, yet with the same honesty and heartiness in which I now say I am,

Dear sir,

Your most faithful and affectionate, &c.

John Cosins.

December 18*th*, 1651.

DEAN COSINS TO MR. EVELYN.

SIR,

IF it had not been our preparation here the last week for Easter, I should have presented your letter, with my thanks for the kind visit that you gave my daughter, whereof she had given me notice the week before. Your advice and assistance in the disposing of her books will, I hope, make her journey to C——— more pleasant to her than otherwise it would have been. If those half-dozen that your brother hath scored be not such as will dismember any class and hinder the sale of the rest which belong unto it, she shall not do amiss to part with them. But for them that you have a mind to yourself, (and I would for her sake, and for your own too, you had a mind to them all, especially to the Fathers, and to the history both ecclesiastical and secular, whereof you will upon every occasion find great use,) I dare promise that she shall give your own convenient times of payment for such moneys as you agree upon, and that her demands for that agreement will be very reasonable. Truly if you would be pleased to furnish yourself with those classes which were chosen and designed by, you know whom, for Mr. St. (who intends not to make the use of a good library that you are both desirous and able to do), rather than they should be distracted elsewhere, it will be left for her to take your payments proportionably by several years as you can best spare the money; for I would you might have as much ease in the payment as I know you will have pleasure in the books.

I am sorry you find such confusion in religion and such intemperance in life where you are; but as neither of them is pleasing to you (whom I have ever noted to be virtuous, orderly, and conscientious in all your ways), so it pleases me highly when you can number so many, 7000, that make more esteem of their knees and their souls together, than to bow them down to Baal.

I never entertained any suggestions against my daughter, who I am confident hath more of God in her, than ever to be carried away with such devil's temptations as have seduced and undone her brother, against whom (but that I would feign forget him), I can hardly hold here from expressing a very great indignation. The excellent letter that you addressed to him, I presented to his Majesty's view (and I presented your excuse withal for not coming to him before you went), for whom the copy of it was prepared; and every way it was highly pleasing to him, as he read it; but when I told him that it was my intention to publish it, though he wished it done, yet he thought it were better for a while to spare it (*rebus sic stantibus*) for fear of displeasing his mother the Queen, who had been pleased to interest herself in that matter.

I meet often with the good company of those persons that you left behind you in your lodgings, and my daughter's confidant is preparing to come towards you; but in good truth I am very sorry that I must lose the benefit and pleasure of your good society, which was always most acceptable to

Your affectionate and most humble servant,

J. Cosins.

April 3rd, 1652.

THOMAS BARLOW TO MR. EVELYN.

[Dr. Barlow, Provost of Queen's College, Keeper of the Bodleian Library, and afterwards Bishop of Lincoln.]

SIR,

I HAVE received, by the hands of my ingenuous friends, Mr. Pett and Mr. Needham, those choice pieces which you were pleased so generously and charitably to give to Bodley's Library, and so increase our store, though with a diminution of your own. Having no possibility to requite this your kindness and munificence to the public, (beneficia tua indigne æstimat, qui de reddendo cogitat), I have sent this little paper-messenger to acknowledge our obligation, and bring our heartfelt thanks. I am glad I have got your name into our Register, amongst those noble and public souls which have been our best benefactors; and I hope it will be no dishonour to you, when posterity shall there read your name and charity. I know you have goodness enough to pardon this rude, and, I fear, impertinent scribble. God Almighty bless you, and all those more generous and charitable souls who dare love learning, and be good in bad times. This is, and shall be, the prayer of,

Sir,
Your most obliged humble servant,
THOMAS BARLOW.

Queen's College, Oxon, March 17*th*, 1654.

SIR RICHARD BROWNE TO MR. EVELYN.

DEAR SON,

YOUR letter of the 15th September came to my hands four or five days since. Notwithstanding the very rainy weather, I have perambulated the Rue St. Jacques, and other streets where booksellers live, but cannot possibly find your Benedictine Curtius: some I have met with who knew the book, and say it is a folio of a competent bigness. As soon as the weather and my leisure permits, you shall have the account you desire of our Paille-mailles, which are here only these—viz., the Thuilleries, the Palais Royal, and the Arsenal, all which I will pace and take the distance of the arc by the English foot, &c., and study all means possible to advance the laudable and profitable design, which, through the veil, I easily discourse, and applaud to be yours. Your news of my little grandson not a little mortified me; but I am since somewhat revived by a letter I two days since received from my kinsman (whom I so much esteem), dated at your house. I pray God bless and continue him unto you, that he may make use of a small token which I had provided for him by the advice of your most elegantly translated Chrysostom. I pray present my service to that my noble cousin, and tell him that I yesterday delivered, with my own hand, his letter to his grand friend, who received it with much cheerfulness. Of the effects whereof, as to him and myself, he shall, ere long, have a further account. You will here inclosed receive two letters, the one for Mr. Edisbury, the other for Mr. Harrison (my old Merton College friend and acquaintance). When you have perused both, I pray seal and send them; let no post be put on that for Mr. Harrison. That for Mr. Edisbury you may do well to consult Mr. Robert Russell, ship-chandler, at the Half Moon, in Tower-street,—who, as the young man tells me, knows best how to convey it; and therefore my opinion is, that, acquainting him with the contents, you commit to him, and from him require the answer. If you add thereunto a civil line or two to the father, I think you will not do amiss. I pray use the best means you can for hastening hither the answer; in this there will be charity as well as friendship. The lace you sent was again thought to be lost. But now Mr. Bear's correspondent tells me the stray shallop is arrived in which they think it was embarked. I pray let me know what it cost, and whether you ever received a box, sent in the trunk by Mr. Buy with my cousin's things; wherein were divers acorns de chesine vert, &c. I am now at last to lament the departure of this honest gentleman, and congratulate your happiness in his acception. The rivers gain on one side what the opposite bank of the current loseth. Besides this letter, I have troubled him with the conveyance of some trifles,—viz., a bag of peach and nectarine stones of this last season.

The four chronological tables you desired, (which when I sought wherein to make them up, a parcel of the several finest sorts of marbled paper, which I had lying by me, coming across my hands) I put into that folio volume, conceiving you, for your books, or your wife in trimming some cabinet, might perhaps put it to better use than a sluggish insignificant posture, as it was with me; lastly, a book for my grandson, of which, I trust in God, I may live to receive one day a cheerful account from him, under your auspicious instruction; his mother shall be remembered with something particularly another time; at present, my best blessing will not, I hope, be an unacceptable token. In God's name, live cheerfully, and enjoy with pleasure His heavenly indulgences, which are to you more than ordinary. Above all things, avoid those cares which trench upon distrust of His providence, and follow the Wise Man's counsel as to the things of this life. You are not likely to be overburdened with children; but, in all events, the good actions of your erudite brain will render you co-equal to this ball of earth, and perpetuate your memory to its conflagration (or, according to some, vitrification). God give us all grace so to live as that that day may blessedly consummate our inchoative happiness and perfection. So prays,

Your ever loving father to serve you,

Richard Browne.

Paris, 29th September, 1659.

LORD CORNBURY TO MR. EVELYN.

[Lord Cornbury, afterwards Henry, Earl of Clarendon.]

The King finds great fault with this air; says he hath not his health, and neither sleeps nor eats well, and truly, though he goes up and down, he is not well; and I believe (though he will not remove to Oxford till the beginning of October, to keep that town clear as long as may be,) that he will make some hunting journey somewhere or other, to see what that will do, and leave the Queen here.

I have been once at Dinton with my father, and at Sir John Evelyn's, the only journeys of pleasure I have been able to make. I have not yet been in Clarendon. Now I am to be here, I would advise you to go to Cornbury, where you are sure to avoid being troubled with me. The Parliament meets at Oxford the 9th October; I am very glad we are like to see you then, and I assure you it will not be possible for you to avoid my importunity there. I beseech you present my most humble service to my lady: you remember your promise; I hope that when we meet again I am to be acquainted with her. Sir J. Clifford is gone into Denmark upon occasion of this last business at Norway. The French ambassadors told the King on Thursday that Monsieur de Vendôme and the Pope were dead, but they contradicted both again yesterday.

Our good bishop here is much better than I have known him a great while; God continue him so; there is need enough of him; he hath invited the Queen to a collation on Tuesday next. The duke and duchess are hugely feasted and entertained in the North, and are so pleased, that they care not for removing; but they will be at Oxford. The last bill of mortality was a sad one, and hath frightened us all; I pray God make us as sensible of his judgments as we ought to be. We are all here very well, but have been sometimes alarmed with this sickness, and two days since there was a house shut up in Castle-street, which makes us much afraid. I must needs tell you that our whole family are extremely happy in my sister-in-law; there lives not a better creature; and hitherto all is very well (you know what I mean,) which pleaseth me more than you can imagine. I beseech you present my most humble service to Mr. Secretary and my lady, and your brother; and now it is time to make some apology for this long tedious letter; but lest that should be yet more impertinent, it is better to let it alone; besides, I am afraid I have already lost the opportunity of sending this in your servant's packet this post. Let me beg you to continue your kindness to me, and believe that I am always,

Your most affectionate and most faithful servant,

H. Cornbury.

September, 1665.

LORD CORNBURY TO MR. EVELYN.

Sir,

I may well blush to take pen in my hand to write to you after so long a silence. You have too much reason to be for ever out of charity with me, after the great rudeness I have committed in never thanking you for your letters. I do not now go about to extenuate my fault; all I can say, had I all the art and eloquence I could wish for, could not excuse me. But, according to the old and truest principle, it is never too late to mend; and, therefore, I have resolved at last to ask your pardon, and say all I can in my defence, though it be very little. While I was at Salisbury I knew not how to write to you; and when I came hither and met with Sir R. Browne, he put me in hopes for a good while together of seeing you here; and though I had written a long scribble to you, I chose rather to forbear sending it, than to give you the trouble both of that, and as tedious a discourse when we met. It is now too late to tell you how sensible I was of the sadness of your condition you represented to me in the summer, and of the endeavours I used with my father to give you ease, who was as much troubled and ashamed of it as yourself, and did his utmost to relieve you, though you could not find it in so great a measure as he desired. I do not trouble you with an account how I have spent my time since I saw you; that is to be reserved till we meet, and will not then please you, it having all been to so little purpose, and not to the least good. I would here tell you many woeful stories, but they are not fit for a letter. We begin to be very apprehensive (I pray God, we be rightly sensible) of the plague increasing again. What will become of the nation, if God's always miraculous mercy do not protect us? Methinks I see nothing but horror and confusion round about me; and yet, I am sorry to say it, we are contriving ways to make us merry. Oh—but I forget what I am doing. I do not trouble you with any foreign news, because you see all in the Oxford Gazette, and all that I could say would be but repetitions. The Court is now going into mourning for the Queen-Mother of France.

Though the sickness have put a stop to all things, yet I hope at last we shall have the translations in print; when we meet I will show you more of the same kind. If you had not more important affairs upon your hands, you should have been dragged ere this by importunity to Cornbury, to finish the work you have begun, whither I go now and then upon a Saturday; my little boy there, and that place, are too many enjoyments at this time, when one ought not to indulge one's self. I cannot tell you how to admiration things go on there; we have this year planted near 2000 trees.* I wish I could contrive some business, though never so inconvenient, to bring you hither: you see how malicious I am.

When we meet, I shall quarrel with you for believing a report you mentioned to me in your letter, of my being married. I hope time hath convinced you there was no such thing like to be; if not, I will try what I can do. At present I will only say, that I would not have any of my friends conceive so ill an opinion of me; and yet, I will presume to say, no man living hath a higher esteem of mariage, nor of the other sex, than I have; and so much for this subject at this time. I have now troubled you enough; and were it not for trying you with impertinences, I could have spun this into a far larger volume. I beseech you to believe that I am,

---

* Evelyn assisted at the planting of the park at Cornbury a few months before.—See *Diary*, I., 366.

Sir,

Your most affectionate and most humble servant,

H. Cornbury.

Oxford, 17*th January*, 1665. [*N. S.* 1666.]

LORD CORNBURY TO MR. EVELYN.

Sir,

I give you many thanks for your favour of the 20th, and do confess you have reason to reproach me for not answering your letters, but I told you in my last I would not trouble you nor myself with excuses; it is better ingenuously to confess a fault, than to disguise it by acts. What I may do when I have lost more time than I have already done (if it be not a little slandering my occupation) in the conversation I have been used to these last six months, I know not, but as yet I am not arrived to the dexterity of making artificial apologies. Were all my time as well spent as when I am reading your letters, I should have but little to answer for, but as I have already told you, I shall give you no satisfaction on that point when you call me to an account; the best which I can say for myself is, that it 's not altogether my own fault. I am extremely glad you are so well pleased with our new house; your letter hath hugely satisfied my father; he means very shortly to call upon you, for your advice about his garden, and let me beg you to remember evergreens (in my opinion) the greatest beauty that can be. Mr. May (who you know governs at Cornbury) hath made a design for a very convenient house there, and splendid enough, which will be begun this spring; and then we shall be very commodious both in town and country, though, perhaps, too much envied. You will now have good company near you; the King and duke will be at Hampton Court on Saturday next; my father will be the same day at Twickenham; the Queen and duchess stay here till the King resolves what is fit for them to do. I remain here, but hope we shall all join speedily, now there is so blessed a decrease of the sickness: God make us thankful for it. I suppose you have already heard the message the King of France sent our Queen Mother by Mr. de Lionne, that he could no longer forbear falling out with our King, therefore I need not repeat it to you. Other foreign news we have none but what you find in the Oxford Gazette, which I hope pleaseth you better than Mr. Lestrange's two sheets. There is one little particular I cannot avoid telling you, of an invention the gazetteer of Amsterdam hath found out to get money; he doth weekly reprint the Gazette of Paris, which you know is excellent language, only with this alteration, that he spells all the words just as they are pronounced in common discourse; which at the first view doth almost make it a new language. Pray give me your opinion of it; I am afraid, instead of purifying, it will rather corrupt it; I am told it is that the academy of Paris would never consent to; and methinks it is a bold thing for a Dutchman to attempt the correcting any tongue, much more the French. I am in hope some of the wits of France will fall upon him for it; however he is to be applauded for his ingenuity. I have now wearied you sufficiently, and will therefore add no more, but that I am,

Sir,

Your most affectionate servant,

H. Cornbury.

Oxford, this 24th Jan., 1665. [*N. S.* 1666.]

SIR. R. MORAY TO MR. EVELYN.

[It is strange that no allusion to the writer of this letter is to be found in Evelyn's Diary, although Evelyn and Sir Robert Moray were intimate friends, and constantly associated in the early labours of the Royal Society. Sir Robert was the first President of the Royal Society, and a devoted Royalist from the commencement of the Civil War. In 1646 he contrived a plan for the escape of the King, whom he was to conduct in disguise to a vessel which lay at Tynemouth to receive him. The King put on his disguise, and went down the back stairs of Moray's house, hoping to pass the guards in safety; but, wavering in his resolution, he went back again, and so the plan was never put into execution. Sir Robert contributed a great number of communications to the Society, some of which, in common with most of the offerings of the early members, are more remarkable for credulity and superstition than scientific investigation.]

My very worthy Friend,

By what telescope you read me at this distance I do not know; but till by your letter of the 13th December I learnt that you are acquainted with my most illegible parts, I should hardly have suspected it. It seems you conclude me to be a greater master in another sort of philosophy than in that which is the business of the Royal Society. For if you were not confident I can govern the whole brood of my passions, as well, at least, as Bankes did his horse, you would not have adventured to stir up so many of the fiercest of them at once. This I incline the rather to believe, because I know you value my friendship, and would not kindle a flame that might blow it up. Therefore, instead of flying out like lightning upon the wanton and tempting language by which you assault my humility, my sobriety, my ingenuity, and my unconcernedness, exciting me to pride, vanity, ambition, and affectation, I do but smile upon the liberty of your pen, and commend the pretty texture of your ingenious words; and only comprise the design of all to be to express quaintly your kindness in desiring I may be where you are. And my return to that is, that were I at mine own disposal, I would be as willing as you would have me, to confine myself to that little world that goes under the name of Saye's Court, and there not court the most courted glories of our terrestrial planet; nay, not envy those that inhabit the nobler one that illuminates the rest, if any such people there be. And then if the two luminaries that keep up a perpetual spring in that rich place did but shine propitiously on such an obscure guest, what sublunary thing would be wanting to complete the felicity of,

My very much honoured friend,

Your faithful humble servant,

R. Moray.

Yesterday, 14*th Jan.*, 1667. [*N. S.* 1668.]

MR. N. JAMESON TO MR. EVELYN.

Honoured Sir,

The delight I take in planting of trees and flowers hath often prompted unto me some little thoughts and designs concerning the raising of mulberries, which thoughts have been very much heightened and animated by the reading of some part of your most ingenious and excellent "Discourse of Forest Trees." But by all the inquiry I could hitherto make by my friends about London for some seed of the white kind, which your book treats of, I have not hitherto been so happy as to procure any, nor indeed to meet with those who ever heard of any such mulberry or seed. Now, loth I was to give over my design, and as loth to be presumptuous, yet at length those thoughts, to which you gave life, urged me to apply unto yourself as their most proper patron and nourisher; and in their behalf, I humbly beg that you would be pleased to give me some directions, how, or by whom, such seed as I desire may be obtained. Worthy sir, you possibly may admire at my boldness, and I do not endeavour to excuse it, only it ought to be considered, that it is not likely that such persons as yourself should come so publicly abroad, without getting much bold acquaintance; but not to add a second trespass by my tediousness, if this my confidence be thought worthy of a line or two in answer, be pleased to direct it to be left with Mr. Allestry, bookseller, at the Rose and Crown, in St. Paul's Churchyard, for Mr. Thomas Jameson, minister of God's word at Hackney, near London, who will take care to send it to,

Your humble servant and real honourer,

N. Jameson.

Credwell, Wiltshire, April 11th, 1670.

MR. EVELYN TO MR. JAMESON.

SIR,

THE encomium you are pleased to bestow upon the trifle which I sent lately abroad could not be so welcome to me as a capacity to serve you in the seeds you desire, or any thing else that was in my power; but I neither am master of any of those plants (I mean of the white mulberry) nor of the seeds. But for my best directions therein, since you name Mr. Allestry, I cannot pitch upon a person who is more likely to serve you than he, because I suppose he has frequent correspondence both at Paris and Lyons (which is near to Avignon), and other parts of France where it is very easy to procure it, especially by the address mentioned in my book to Mons. Isnard, who is governor of the Royal Works at Paris, and who doubtless will be most ready to gratify any gentleman who desires his assistance. If this, sir, should not succeed, I do not question but I may be able to serve you in some proportion by a friend of mine, who goes in September next to the farther parts of France (where these trees grow in infinite abundance) and returns before Christmas, which will be time enough for the next spring, which I think to be the most agreeable season. Sir, I am heartily sorry I am not capable to serve you at present, and the rather because you express so much affection to an inclination so becoming gentlemen. I have seen the tree thrive equally in our climate, and if persons of quality and that had leisure and faculties, would resolve to encourage the culture of a few stocks, I still persist it would infinitely recompense the pains, and prove of great emolument to the whole nation; but I entertain you too long with the impertinence of,

Sir, &c.,

JOHN EVELYN.

Saye's Court, 12th May, 1670.

FROM THE COUNTESS OF CLARENDON TO MR. JOHN EVELYN.

SIR,

As if I were not unhappy enough in being incapable to pay back the tribute I owe you from the public storehouse you have enriched the world with, or my particular obligations, my own ungrateful garden denies me any help, but like an unconstant friend that I have served many years with great faithfulness, now I am able to wait upon it, it no longer disowns me; and of all the great number of tulips which I thought I might boast of, my gardener did not take up one this year, which I cannot suffer to be called unskilfulness but negligence; yet truth is, my plants are so shuffled about, that I must dig as for lost treasure before I can find them, but when they next show themselves I will go make them a visit, to secure some for you; in the meantime I have sent you some calamus roots to set in your moat, and sweet willows to plant upon the banks of it. I have received some jonquils and other bulbous roots from Marseilles, which came with a great parcel for the King; a part of them I have now sent you, and if there come from them anything extraordinary, I entreat that the King may see the flowers, because he has entrusted me with the management of all his parcel; but I fear they will discredit me with his Majesty, and that I shall want your countenance to assure him that they are as nature made them, and have received no prejudice from, sir,

Your most faithful and humble servant,
F. Clarendon.

Somerset House, Oct. 22*nd*, 1680.

My humble service entreat Mrs. Evelyn and the rest of your family. I hope it is near the time that you will be a grandfather, and pray for all the happiness you can propose in being so.

MR. ROBERT BERKELEY TO MR. EVELYN.

Sir,

So much kindness, and so undeserved, would not have suffered me thus long to have been silent; had not our late catastrophe so confined my thoughts, as not immediately to recollect my obligations to my friends, particularly to yourself; but as I was sending this to kiss your hands, I had an account of the sad news of your daughter's death, which has given too great an addition to my trouble, not to be with passion concerned for you, knowing your loss to be irreparable; so great is my apprehension, as if Providence would not suffer such perfect happiness on earth to be possessed without alloy proportionate to render your enjoyments in the next world, answerable to those which you have received in this. How great must they there be, and what are we to expect who come so far short of your deserts. Dear Mr. Evelyn, none of us are here exempt from the greatest sorrows, and the highest disappointments, which I shall hereafter more steadfastly look upon as a mark of the Almighty's favour, since so great exemplars of virtue as Mr. Evelyn and his lady both have been in our age, are so excessively afflicted. I pray God give so entire a resignation to his will, that you may have yet greater contentment than you have hitherto found. Sir, it is my great unhappiness that I cannot pay my duty to you as I would, in condoling with you at Saye's Court, and the more I think of Mr. Evelyn, the more I am perplexed in the consideration of a fatal necessity in depriving me of one of my greatest satisfactions in your dear company, which a nearer distance would make me happy in. Sir, if the entreaties of a friend, can enforce the resolves of so great a philosopher, suffer me amongst the number of yours, to use what arguments I may, to mitigate the extremity of your sorrow; I shall only, with due submission, offer these.—If any person deservedly may be allowed to be perfectly happy in himself, whether or no, he is not abstracted from such notions as are common to sense? In the exterior, likewise, if that party possesses more continued blessings than possibly any other does enjoy, may he complain without ingratitude? If not, then dear Mr. Evelyn is really happy still, and makes many others so, whilst your health is not denied you; which I pray God preserve, and to the rest of your worthy family. Sir, though unseasonably, be pleased to receive my humble thanks for your intended favour of a copy of the paper, which I have a great curiosity to see from your recommendation. But there is nothing more welcome than the hopes of your honouring our poor villa with your presence (which I receive from my cousin Packer), except the fruition of your dear company. But in this I fear I too greatly flatter myself, from what I covet most—next is your correspondence, in which you highly oblige, sir,

Your most obedient and devoted servant,

ROBERT BERKELEY.

Speechley, March 21*st*, 1684. [*N. S.* 1685.]

MR. ROBERT BERKELEY TO MR. EVELYN.

Sir,

Amongst the number of your friends there 's none more heartily congratulates the late honour you have received in his Majesty's service, which must be to the great satisfaction of all that are so happy as to be known to Mr. Evelyn; and renew our hopes of the prosperity of the Court you live in. Nothing more conducing thereunto than the conduct and integrity of good and able ministers. But I wish that your necessary attendance may not hinder or divert you from finishing your grand design, which you were pleased to show me,—in which you 'll have future ages indebted to you, as well as oblige the present, and raise up a monument to your perpetual memory. This may seem like compliment from one that bears so real a respect towards you; yet when I consider how useful (though elaborate) this work will be, and that 'tis not in the power of any other to perfect it, I must confess 'tis a most pressing motive to persuade you to it. Pardon me, sir, for pressing, in my repeated desires, the most ingenious Mr. Evelyn, though for a public good. I was in hopes to have waited on you before this time, or I had not this long deferred my acknowledgment of your last letter (which I have sometimes perused with resignation), where I see all the felicity of this world reduced within the compass of our own breast, and there resolved how all happiness consists with our own agreeable temper fitted to receive it. I often wish you were here to correct my plantations, which I allow in nothing to be so well as when I fancy some little part of them to seem like yours. I confess I was always a lover of gardening, by reason I find in it a constant expectation of something that's new, without the remorse which most if not all the pleasures of this life are mixed with. And in this diversion I have here, at my poor villa, for some time entertained myself, buried, as 'twere, in oblivion of my friends, till I found myself living in your works, which are celebrated, not only in your own country, but in those parts where I have observed the most curious in their plantations and gardens. And the daily experience of this age does certify the universal benefit you have done mankind, in discovering to us several secrets in the mystery of that art, which, before, we were altogether ignorant of. Give me leave, among many others, worthy sir, to admire you in your garden, whilst you are raising those cedars which will eternise your memory. There we may see a most pleasant verdure in the midst of winter, and the most curious plants constantly preserved in their natural vigour, and all the variety of nature in a perpetual spring. And if there's a paradise here on earth, doubtless you enjoy it with your Flora, who excels not only in those qualities which render a rural life most agreeable, but in most other virtues and ornaments of her sex.

I am now upon making a conservatory, something in imitation of yours, but with this addition, having on each side of it wings, in the manner as you see in our casks where we keep our Indian plants, that are to open to give air or sun, and rain to those least tender, as there is occasion; which, with your most ingenious stove, that in a great measure supplies a natural heat, I hope will produce all that this climate is capable of, in favour of our greens, and of the orange tree in particular, which, of all others, is the most beautiful. My wife, with me, give our most humble service to yourself, and your most excellent lady, of whom she often expresses her resentments, as the most accomplished of her sex. And in reality, whilst you both live, I do not see how it is possible for you to be otherwise than the most happy. May long life attend this extraordinary blessing, coming from God alone, with future health and prosperity to your family, are the prayers of,

Sir,

Your most obliged and most faithful devoted servant,

R. Berkeley.

Speechley.

HENRY, EARL OF CLARENDON, TO MR. EVELYN.

Dear Sir,

I hope you will believe I am as really concerned in all that befalls you, as any friend you have; though your daughter had forfeited a great share of your kindness, yet I know you are so tender a father, that you cannot but be grieved extremely for her death; but both yourself and lady (whose affliction must be the same with yours) can administer more comfort to yourselves by your exemplary piety, than can be suggested to you by me. If it had been in my power, I would have waited on you myself at this time, but this good lady Juke can tell you how full of business I am, which will hinder me from visiting you till after my return from Windsor the next week; and in the meantime I beg you to believe I will never fail you in any real friendship while I live; if your trouble can give you leave to make a step to town to-morrow, I would be very glad to see you, having something to say to you, of some concern for you to know, but if you send me word that you cannot come, I will tell it you by letter. My wife presents her service to you and your excellent lady, and does bear a very particular share in your afflictions, as she would tell you herself, but in good earnest she is far from being well. I am, with very great esteem,

Sir,

Your truly affectionate humble servant,

CLARENDON.

Whitehall, Sept. 2nd, 1685.

HENRY, EARL OF CLARENDON, TO MR. EVELYN.

[In the June of 1690, Lord Clarendon, Pepys, and others were sent to the Gate House on suspicion of being affected to King James. Evelyn bailed him. He was afterwards lodged in the Tower, where Evelyn dined with him several times. At the date of the following letter he had been released and home again.]

SIR,

MY stay in town was so short, after my release, that I had not an opportunity of thanking you for your great kindness; and therefore I endeavour to do it this way, and beg you to believe that I will always remember and acknowledge it. I should take it for a very great favour, if you would take a journey hither. The flying coach goes to Oxford in a day, all this month, and if you will let me know when you will be there, I will meet you with my coach. The plantation pretends to be one of your eldest children, and therefore claims some sort of your care; it was designed by yourself, and the performance had once the approbation of your view. I have since, by little and little, and I may say not unsuccessfully, so far finished the whole, that I thank God I taste the benefit, as well as the pleasure of the work; and your presence would now give a blessing to all. Let me, therefore, beg you to throw away a little of your precious time upon your friends at a place, where I hope you believe you shall be most really welcome. My wife joins with me in this request, with her most humble service, and we both beg to be remembered with perfect respect to your excellent lady. I beseech you to believe me to be with all possible esteem,

Sir,

Your most affectionate and most humble servant,

CLARENDON.

Cornbury, Sept. 3*rd*, 1690.

HENRY, EARL OF CLARENDON, TO MR. EVELYN.

SIR,

I SHOULD sooner have returned you my thanks for yours of the 8th past, but that I thought it more respect to you not to trouble you with my dull lines. I am very sorry your occasions would not permit you to allow us the favour of your company. I verily believe you would have been pleased (if I may say so of myself) to have seen so prosperous a plantation as this is, made and carried on by your instructions; indeed, I have many things to brag of, and some which are not ordinary; and I bless God I can please myself perfectly well with the entertainments the place affords me. And I will not despair of seeing you here ere long, to give your advice for the finishing of some things, which I would be glad to do before I leave off; and 'tis almost time for me to think of that. I shall be in town towards the end of the next week, in order to make my appearance at the King's Bench bar, according to my obligation; and if I am so happy as to be discharged (which I pray for), I shall hasten hither again, where I leave my wife and family; but I will be sure to find a way of seeing you before I leave the town.

My wife is your humble servant, and threatens you with the trouble of a letter. We both beg to be remembered most humbly to your excellent lady.

I am, with great esteem, sir,
Your most affectionate and humble servant,
CLARENDON.

Cornbury, Oct. 11*th*, 1690.

MR. JOHN BENEDE TO MR. EVELYN.

SIR,

SINCE the last account of the young lady's sickness left her so extremely ill as not to believe her out of danger, and that we could not possibly learn by any other way the present condition of her health, but by giving you this trouble, you will pardon the freedom that is taken in desiring a line or two from you in answer to this. Mr. Evelyn, your son, is wholly ignorant of the cause of your stay, and wonders he has not heard from you; we were in hopes that yesterday's paradise day would have tempted you to town by water, since the shaking of the coach is so inconvenient to the sick lady, who I believe would find greater ease by being here from the variety of company and the better advice that may be had, than from the most tender attendance and care of affectionate parents at Deptford. If you fear there may be the coldness upon the water, I will take upon me amongst some of my acquaintance, to send down a litter, if the motion of that can be borne with, otherwise I should think the sending of a sedan in a boat would be better and the warmer way of the two. We are all impatient to hear the good news of her recovery, and your speedy resolution for London, a happiness we shall all rejoice in, but none more than, sir,

Your affectionate humble servant,

J. BENEDE.

October 25*th*, 1690.

The last night late arrived Colonel Fitzpatrick with the express from Kinsale, the new fort was surrendered upon honourable terms; marching out three regiments with bag and baggage, drums beating, colours flying, with an article for the governor Sir Edward Scott to have a passport to be transported beyond sea, within any time during three months; they left great store and a 100 pieces of cannon. The Duke of Berwick with 1500 horse was upon the march with a design to relieve it, but Lieut.-General Ginckel having notice, had like to have been in the rear of them with 3000 horse and 1000 dragoons, of which they had notice and did return to Limerick, burning many villages, and the Lord Ossory's house, which cost but lately 40,000*l.* the building, and was the noblest palace of Ireland; the Duke of Berwick sent twice to Maxwell not to fire it, but could not prevail. The Duke of Grafton is certainly dead, has made his will by which the Lord Godolphin and Lord Lichfield are executors; the King continues his pension to the young Duke. To-morrow an ambassador from Portugal has audience of the King, which is an acknowledgment, and brings him into the Confederacy, and it is thought all the native princes will follow his example; the Turks now growing too powerful in Hungary, having taken Belgrade, Esseck, and it is feared Tekely has defeated Prince Louis of Baden; the not having made a peace when time served, is wholly imputed to the treachery of the Jesuits; the Breda, a third-rate ship lying in Kinsale road, having twenty-five prisoners of war, and many other passengers designing for England the next day, was by an unhappy accident blown up, all perishing but the captain, who cannot live, he is so bruised. The King goes next month for Holland.

DR. TENISON (BISHOP OF LINCOLN) TO MR. EVELYN.

[Dr. Tenison, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and founder of the library at St. Martin's.]

Good Sir,

Yesterday I received yours, and was very glad to hear from a friend I so justly value, but I could wish I could have heard of your health too; God, I hope, will send it in his good time. Colds are in this town the common calamity. I am perfectly of your mind in relation to Mr. Bentley, and you may assure yourself I shall not swerve from my purpose. I will speak with Sir H. Ashurst and Sir J. Rotherham as soon as I can, and send you word of the time they think to meet, but I shall not conclude to meet with them to do the business till I hear you can conveniently come. Mr. Bentley was with me this evening; coming last night to town he brought the enclosed, and sends you his hearty service and thanks. I have been indisposed since Tuesday, but my cold does not wholly confine me, but I go the less abroad because I find all conversation almost to be complaint and discontent. God direct the King and Parliament to the best methods. My service to your good lady, your son and daughter. I hear great things of your grand-son from Eton.

I am, sir,
Your faithful friend and servant,
Tho. Lincoln.

Saint Martin's Churchyard, November 4th, 1693.

DR. JOHN WILLIAMS TO MR. EVELYN.

HONOURED SIR,

I ESTEEM it as a particular mark of your friendship, that you are pleased to acquaint me with the report, which I perceive by yours is abroad, concerning my writing the Life of the Hon. Mr. Boyle; a report that there is no ground, but that there is some occasion for, through the mistake of what I said concerning the publishing anew those of his works which had heretofore been printed. The short story of which is this: About a month since I received a letter from Dr. Charles, Master of University College, Oxford; in which he told me that some of the works of Mr. Boyle having grown scarce, it had been advised that it would be of good use and be very acceptable to the learned, if there were a collection of all his works set forth together in folio; and that it was desired I would consider of it, and consult with the trustees or others, how it might be best accomplished. Toward the promoting of this I waited on my Lord of Canterbury, and in the next place, had done so on you, but that I thought you were out of town. In the meantime I lighted on Sir H. Ashurst in the street, and afterward waiting on him at his house, I told him of it, and withal that it would be convenient that some inquiry might be made of what might be found among his papers, fit for the press; and he promised me to advise with the Earl of Burlington about it. While I was there, came in Mr. Warr, and he very readily offered his service about the papers; this was the week before I came out of town, and farther we went not. So that all that could be said of a preface was presumption; and no more of that thought of, I believe, that what in cause might be done by the Oxford gentlemen. As for my own part, I was so far from thinking of writing a Life (which I knew to be in the bishop's hands), that I thought not of so much as a preface. The design is worthy of a better pen, and what I have always thought a way of writing not without great difficulties. For he that will write a Life, if possible, should have had an intimate acquaintance with the person, and should know that of his air, his genius, and way, that can no more be wrote than he himself can be drawn by description only, and must be, if not intimate enough, yet led into all the particulars which you speak of by one that was inward with him. Now I had not the honour of anything like this, never having been in the company of that great man but once that I know of, many years hence; and which I afterward blamed myself for, having been encouraged by him to make an acquaintance there.

I am well pleased that at last it is likely to be done, and to be undertaken by one so well qualified for it as Mr. Wotton, to whom it being necessary to peruse his papers, he may at the same time promote the Oxford design by a farther collection.

When I return to town, which will be, God willing, about fourteen days hence, I shall wait on you. With my acknowledgments for your obliging letter to

Sir,

Your faithful and humble servant,

JOHN WILLIAMS.

Canterbury, —— 19*th*, 1696.

MR. JAMES QUIN TO MR. EVELYN.

SIR,

You receive this from one who is little known to you, but loves you much, as I do a lady who received me in your stead at Deptford, with the charms of a woman, and the beautiful strengths of a man, and the virtues of a Christian, and both with that love that becomes a Christian. Salute her, sir, in my name, and give her the best services of the worst of men, as well as the least.

The design, sir, is to enter into a correspondence with you and her, if the excellent, the much admired, lady pleases, on a full, perfect, and complete happiness, that is even, constant and vast, real and substantial, perfect and entire, wanting nothing but a finishing stroke from the hand of death, and its brightening shadows; of a happiness that depends neither on times, nor persons, nor places, that can live and thrive in the cottage, in a dungeon as in a garden, and almost as well in a garden as in a dungeon; desiring the correspondence may be secret, and confined by sacred bonds, within the sacred number. You shall court her for me, and for herself, for it is her happiness and her eternal life, and present her in my name, with the fairest present and the richest that I can make her accomplished and immortal soul.

On this subject which I have proposed, the angels entertain themselves, and think to one another, there is none greater or better, none more worthy of spirits and souls; and every other is a wasting and a crucifying impertinence, from which every one ought *cacher sa vie,* in the *fallentis semita vitæ;* not of a vain and miserable Horace, but of a Paul, who having nothing, possessed all things, in the life hid with Christ in God.

I am with great sincerity, and respect, and love,

Honoured sir,

Your meanest friend and servant,

JAMES QUIN.

November 29th.

HENRY, EARL OF CLARENDON, TO MR. EVELYN.

SIR,

I CANNOT enough condemn myself in being thus very backwards in making my acknowledgments to you, for the favour of both your letters, and for the great present you sent me of your excellent Book of Medals, which as all your works, do further adorn our country: it is great pity the printer has performed his part so ill, but that it was not in his power, with all his negligence, to spoil the sense, which everybody knows you are so much master of. My wife looks upon herself extremely obliged to you for the mention you make of her father and family, for which she hath made you her own acknowledgments, which you will perceive by the date, should have been with you long since, had not I kept it, that my thanks might not come behind hers, we being both equally obliged to you; if anything could make me fall out with so good a friend, and ancient acquaintance as yourself, it would be the mention you make of me in your book, so far beyond what I can deserve. If any of my trifles have been useful to you, I am very glad they were in my hands for that purpose; but I have not the vanity to think I can possess anything choice; and shall never desire to have my name in print, privacy being what I always most loved, and now more than ever. But, sir, my obligations to you always increase, for which I can make you no return but my thanks; if I have anything in my small collections which may be useful to you in your other studies (for you are always employing your thoughts for the public), you have a right to what I have. I again ask your pardon for this late acknowledgment, which how late soever, is with all possible sincerity and sense of gratitude for all your civilities and kindness to myself and family. I beseech you to believe that I am with very great esteem, sir,

Your most affectionate and most humble servant,

CLARENDON.

April 19th, 1698.

I beg you will give my most humble service to your excellent lady.

W. NICHOLSON (AFTERWARDS BISHOP OF CARLISLE) TO MR. EVELYN.

HONOURED SIR,

IT has long been my custom to clear accounts (as far as I am able) with all my creditors on the first day of every new year. Where I am non-solvent, I make an honest acknowledgment; and that's my case with you. Give me leave, therefore, to make this return of my humble thanks for the kind letter I had from you last week; and to let you know (since you are pleased to invite me to it) I am very ready to run farther on the score with you. Your MS. Life of St. Cuthbert is (I perceive) the legend written by R. Hegge, who was Fellow of Corpus Christi, where that treatise was deposited. There is indeed a very faulty copy of it printed, and I have often endeavoured to procure a transcript from the author's original, but in vain. You generously offer this; and my brother will wait on you for it, and convey it to me. If I live to publish my History of the Saxon Northumberland, I shall pay a grateful respect to my benefactor.

I am troubled to hear of Mr. Pepys' indisposition. I heartily wish his recovery, and the continuance of his restored health.

When I was a servant to Mr. Secretary Williamson (above twenty years ago) I often waited on him at his house in Westminster, but I was then, as I still am, too inconsiderable to be remembered by him. Besides an account of the author (if known) of his MS. Life of Mary Queen of Scots, I very much desire to know whether there be any valuable matters relating to the History of Scotland amongst Sir R. Maitland's collections of Scotch Poems. I observe, that in the same volume with Balfour's Practiques (or Reports as we call them) he has a manuscript of the old Sea-law of Scotland. I would beg to be informed whether this last treatise be not the same with the Leges Portuum, which (though quoted by Sir John Skene, under that Latin title) is written in the Scotch language, and is only a list of the customs of goods imported and exported. If I may (through your kind intercession) have the favour of transcribing anything for my purpose out of his library, I have a young kinsman (a clerk to Mr. Musgrave at the Tower) who will wait on him to that purpose.

Suffer me now, sir, to own another obligation to you (wherein I am a sharer with the public) for your Acetaria, which, with submission, I think you have miscalled an appendix to your Calendarium. You give it the precedence, and very justly, in your royal plan; the several chapters whereof I shall much long to see published; for, though an ingenious countryman of mine, Mr. Baker, seems dissatisfied with Mr. Wotton's making agriculture and gardening parts of liberal knowledge, I am as much an admirer of all the branches of natural as civil history; and the former has as many of my spare hours in the summer as the latter has in the winter. There is one passage, page 65, wherein I think myself nearly concerned to request your farther information. The French *acetosella,* with the round leaf, grows, you say, plentifully in the north of England. You distinguish this from the Roman *oxalis,* wherewith Dr. Morison had made our *acetosa Eboracensis,* as he calls it, to be nearly of a kind; but Mr. Ray has rightly observed that ours is not Caspar Bauhinus's *rotundifolia hortensis,* which is the same with the Roman *oxalis,* but his *scutata repens.* Besides this, I know of no kind of sorrel that is so peculiar to the Northern parts of this kingdom as your expression seems to intimate, nor can this, which is no trefoil, be reckoned amongst any of the *acetosellæ.*

You will pardon this impertinence in,

Sir,

Your most obliged humble servant,

WILL. NICHOLSON.

March 25*th*, 1700.

MR. EVELYN TO ———.

SIR,

THOUGH I am so long before I discharge my debts, yet that you may not conclude me unmindful of your commands, and that only Mr. Pepys' indisposition hindered me from sooner giving you an account of them, this is to acquaint you with what he returns to your inquiries, which I choose to give you under his own hand.

I am now upon the wing for my summer residence at Wotton in Surrey, where your further commands will reach,

Sir, your most humble servant,

J. E.

As to what you mention concerning the sorrel, perhaps I did not so well to call it the Fr. *acetosella,* in regard of the leaf. But does not Mr. Ray somewhere, both in his Catalogue and his later Synopsis, seem to make that which is found in Cumberland and the Northern parts distinct from the Roman by the deliquium in the leaf, however resembling it, when translated into a richer mould?

In the meantime, I must acknowledge I had this from the misinformation of another, and I wish there may not occur many more considerable errors in that trifle of mine, and that I might receive your so friendly animadversion both on that and my Sylva, and it would very much oblige,

Sir,

Yours, &c.

Since this I received yours of the 9th of May.

DR. JOHN FELL, BISHOP OF OXFORD.

[Dr. Fell, author and editor of numerous works connected with divinity and classical literature, was a munificent benefactor to Oxford; bestowed upon his college of Christ Church some of its rectories, and bequeathed to it at his death no less than ten exhibitions. He and his friend, Dr. Allestry (whose portrait is preserved at the University), are said to have written all the works attributed to the anonymous author of "The Whole Duty of Man."

The following letters are from Mr. Bentley's Collection. Who the Bishop's correspondent was we have no means of ascertaining; the date also is matter of conjecture, but it must have been after 1676, when Dr. Fell was advanced to the Bishopric of Oxford. He died in 1686. The subject is curious. It seems that the gentleman whose ire the Bishop sought to subdue was intent upon bringing an action for breach of promise of marriage against a lady who violated her engagement to him in favour of one Sir John Morley. The Bishop urges upon him the higher triumph of Christian forgiveness over legal satisfaction, and the gentleman is ready to adopt that view of the case if the Bishop will use his influence to induce the lady to make a suitable apology to him. The Bishop appears to great advantage in this little correspondence as a gentleman and a Christian.]

DR. JOHN FELL, BISHOP OF OXFORD, TO WM. G———L.

SIR,

HAVING the favour of your letter, wherein you are pleased to own yourself to be obliged by an opinion of mine, which had no prospect but to declare an honest truth, and to avert from a deliberately chosen sin, a person who had long preserved a reputation of virtue; I am concerned to acknowledge your undeserved civility, and must not think my interposition altogether frustrate, since it satisfies you, though it had no effect on her for whose use it was intended. I laid before the unhappy lady the aggravation of a wilful sin, which involves a defiance of Almighty God and his commands, and which, in the present case, cuts off all possibility of future reparation, and consequently the ordinary means of repentance and forgiveness. Be pleased now to give me leave to recommend to you an act of generous charity, that you would have compassion for a soul that had no regard for itself, and by acquitting your interest as far as 'tis possible, put an end to perpetual guilt. I know you have been ill dealt with, but for that very reason I propose this to you, it being the peculiar mastery of our holy Christian profession to overcome evil with good. You may gratify passion by exposing an offender to shame, and the expense and trouble of the law; but the pleasure of forgiving will be infinitely more permanent and truly delicious. I am sure I have no temporal motive for what I say, having by plain dealing lost all manner of interest in the person for whom I intercede. You will be pleased to pardon this rude address to you from a stranger, who can plead no other merit than his belief of your propensity to do the best things that can be laid before you, and his desire that you should actually perform them. Recommending you to the blessing and guidance of Almighty God,

I remain, sir,
Your most faithful servant,
Jo. Oxon.

December 1*st.*

WILLIAM GL——— TO THE BISHOP OF OXFORD.

My Lord,

No man can think me guilty of compliment or flattery in saying that your lordship abundantly merits the esteem of the whole world, when I have in my hands so clear an evidence of your lordship's exemplary goodness and piety; wherein how much your lordship excels most men, is known to all that see your life, and hear your doctrine. Your answer, my lord, to those few lines which were never intended to give your lordship any trouble, is an honour wherewith I had no reason to expect or hope your lordship would have so highly obliged me. I shall therefore preserve your lordship's letter as carefully, though not so superstitiously, as Romish priests keep reliques, because it is not only a testimony of your favour and civility to me, but also a demonstration of your lordship's justice and mercy; the one manifested in condemning a wilful offence, the other in soliciting with so much compassion a pardon for the guilty offender. But good, my lord, how can you intercede for a faithless woman, who hath dealt so treacherously with her faithful friend, her constant lover, and in the sight of God, her betrothed husband; a woman, who though conscious, is so far from acknowledging her fault, that she justifies her falsehood, and instead of repenting her breach of faith, thinks me beneath her asking forgiveness. Indeed, Mr. L. in his last passage to London, came hither and declared his mother had sent him to tell me she desired my friendship, and to ask me what satisfaction I expected from her; this put me upon desiring Mr. L. to tell me truly whether his mother were actually married. No, said he, not yet I am sure, because when I parted from my mother, she did solemnly swear to me that she would not marry in my absence, till I came back from London to give her; and yet, my lord, contrary to her solemn promise whereby she stood obliged to make me her husband, and contrary to her oath voluntarily made to her son, she within five days after he left her makes herself Sir William Morley's wife: so that I humbly entreat your lordship to consider whether in the present case it be not as necessary for your lordship to press my Lady Morley to repentance and reparation, as to persuade me to pity and pardon. You are not ignorant, my lord, how difficult a task it is for flesh and blood patiently to bear and forgive the greatest indignities and affronts that can be offered to human nature. I do not think our holy Christian profession requires us absolutely to forgive those insufferable injuries, wherein the obstinate wrong-doer impenitently persists. But yet, my lord, to show my ready obedience and submission to your powerful mediation, I do faithfully promise your lordship that I will never by any legal prosecution expose the woman to shame for whom your lordship is so pious an advocate, provided she will by some real evidence of true repentance convince me that she is unfeignedly sorry for the wrong she hath done me. Though she cannot recall her crime, yet it is still in her power to extenuate her guilt, which her own conscience, unless it be seared, tells her she ought to do; when she hath done what is her duty, I will religiously perform my promise to your lordship, hoping thereby to secure myself the continuance of your lordship's favour, and the increase of that good opinion your lordship seems to have conceived of

Your lordship's most obedient and obliged servant,

William Gl———.

WILLIAM PENN.

[The writer of this letter was the founder of Pennsylvania, in South America. He was the son of Admiral Sir William Penn, and according to Anthony Wood, the "Lord appeared to him in his twelfth year, as he was alone in his chamber at Chigwell, in Essex, where he was at school. He was suddenly surprised with an inward comfort, and an external glory in the room," and soon afterwards withdrew from the Established Church, and became a Quaker. How he distinguished himself amongst the people whose form of worship he embraced is well known.

In consideration of the services of his father, and of debts due to him by the Crown, Charles the Second granted Mr. Penn a tract of land on the River Delaware, of which, by letters patent, Penn and his family were made proprietors and governors. In 1782, accompanied by many persons, he embarked for Pennsylvania, and planned the town of Philadelphia. In 1784 he returned to England, and in 1785 he brought to a conclusion a long-standing difference he had with Lord Baltimore respecting the right to a certain territory in the three lower counties of the Delaware. During this period, it is presumed, the annexed letter was addressed to Lord Fairfax.

It is a curious incident in the life of Penn, that at the time of the Revolution he was suspected of being a papist and Jesuit, and was twice examined before the Privy Council, obliged to give security for his appearance, and suspended from his right of appointing a governor to Pennsylvania until he had cleared himself of the charge. In 1690, a proclamation was issued for his apprehension, along with Lord Henry Bellasis, Sir T. Oglethorpe, and others, and he narrowly escaped being taken on his return from George Fox's funeral. After that time he lay in concealment for two or three years, and it was not till 1693 that he was able to establish his innocence. He died in 1718, at Rushcomb, in Buckinghamshire, in his seventy-fourth year.]

WILLIAM PENN TO THE LORD FAIRFAX.

Honourable friend,

My time will not I hope be long in town, and I would be glad to see some issue of your long depending affair. The time set, not observed, nor any fresh appointed, nor any account when we should meet, has an air of neglect from my wonted guests and solicitors; that is not like the treatment I have ever had in business from the greatest; and I know nobody can remedy this but the honour and authority of the Lord Fairfax, for whom I have all imaginable regards, because I am, with great sincerity,

His very faithful and respectful friend,

Wm. Penn.

NARRATIVE OF MR. HARRISON.

[The following curious personal narrative, illustrative of the vicissitudes of the Civil War, is reprinted from a rare Tract.]

The Humble Petition, or Representation of Mr. William Harrison, Gentleman and Soldier, to his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax, Captain General of the Forces raised for the King and Parliament.

May it please Your Excellency to understand, that the true cause which made me for a while to discontinue my service in your regiment, was upon notice given me that one Mr. Marriot had got an execution forth against me, who about four years since did violently draw his sword upon me, and I gave back a little, and drew mine to defend myself. It was my fortune to wound him, and I could have killed him, but I closed with him to disarm him, at what time one Gadson, a keeper ran in, and laid hold of my hair, whereupon I was inforced to defend myself and to draw my knife, and did cut one in the face, and the other's fingers, and had got them both down, and disarmed them; for which the Committee of Northampton kept me in prison seven months and thirteen days without bail; but having got my liberty by the means of Sir Rowland St. John, and other gentlemen that were my friends, I presently bought a brace of geldings, and came to your Excellency's regiment, to Captain Laurence his troop, where I and my man did service above a twelve month, until I heard my enemy Mr. Marriot, a man of an implacable spirit, who sued me in the time of my service under your Excellency (I not knowing it) had gotten an execution forth against me, Gadson and he being the one witness for the other. This was about three days before the surrender of Oxford, at what time I lost out of my quarters a gelding worth (as times are now) at least 16*l.* Being very loth to become a prisoner again, I acquainted my Captain with my sad condition, and desired him that he would grant me a pass to go into Holland; he denied me, but at the last did grant it. The man whom I did hurt had seven articles of a most high nature proved against him; and the whole country wondered that he was not sequestered. It will be proved that he bribed a gentleman who gave false information to the Committee. His goods were then worth two thousand pound to be proved, but he is since broke, and now lieth in gaol. All his goods are made away. Your petitioner hath two friends that have paid 500*l.* for him. And three or four honest men were inforced to fly their country for his debts. Many have paid 100*l.* and 40*l.* a man for him; and in the mean time he lieth in gaol, drinketh sack and is merry. His sureties curse that gentleman, and their wives and children, who misinformed the Committee; and say that if the Committee had done right, they should have sequestered his estate, which might have helped to have paid the soldier.

This business and these sufferings being out of your petitioner's way above 140*l.* as he will prove, and the only occasion that your petitioner to his great grief was inforced to leave for a while the regiment, as Captain Laurence and Lieutenant Merrice can bear him witness, your petitioner most humbly prayeth that your Excellency will be pleased to take him and his petition into your consideration.

A further Relation of the Grievances of the said Mr. William Harrison, with a true discovery of abundance of Treasure sent down into the West, and divers persons there employed to raise forces (under pretence of the Service for Ireland) to make War against the Army commanded by his Excellency.

Having received a pass for the low countries, and intending to take shipping at Yarmouth, I was dissuaded from it by one Master

Duke, who liveth within ten miles of Yarmouth; it was at that time thought that the Scots and we should have differed; whereupon I marched northward, but God be thanked, it was not so; whereupon I turned my course and marched westwards to some of my wife's friends, knowing it not safe to return to my own country, my enemy Marriot having such power with great men in it. There I understood that Major General Skippon should be field-marshal for Ireland; whereupon I came to London, and got a friend, one Mr. Vickars, a wine merchant, to go along with me to the field-marshal, and forty men whom I had lifted to go with me into Ireland, in case that things were so settled, that the army might disband and I received my arrears; but when I came to Westminster, I found that the field-marshal was gone to the head-quarters at Saffron Walden. I made haste after him, and having inquired out his quarters, I made bold to go into his parlour, where I found him sitting alone; and having presented my service to him, he very nobly showed me kind respects, and asked me to whom I formerly did belong. I told him, and showed him my pass; whereupon he assured me, that on the next day my Captain and Major would be in town, and moreover assured me, that if the service went on, I should not want command; I was not willing to stay there long, money being short, and having had no pay in eleven months. But the next day my Major and Captain came, and they did me the favour readily to consent and go along with me unto Major General Skippon, whom we found very busy upon the treaty, where Lieutenant General Cromwell, seeing my Captain, employed him upon a message to some gentlemen in the town; but I stayed and heard the grievances related in the church, having taken a resolution with myself, not to adventure for Ireland without the army was satisfied and disbanded. It was my fortune presently after to observe Major General Skippon in the street; I ran after him, and once more made bold to demand of his honour how the business stood for Ireland? He told me, that for aught he knew, I might have as much command there as himself. Whereupon I marched again into the west, where staying for a season, I could hear but little truth in anything; I resolved therefore to return to London, to understand how the affairs stood, hoping that in so much time I should find things settled. My misfortune was such, that my horse miscarried in the way, but a friend lent me another, which when I came to London, I sent down by the carrier. Being come unto the City, I found a general melancholy and distraction of spirit, which made me fear a new war, insomuch that I could not sleep all night; in the morning I took post for the west again, but had no warrant, and in this dispatch I continued until I came to Marlborough, where I desired post-horse to ride all night, which the post-master granted, but the Committee denied, partly because I had no warrant, and partly because they understood that I belonged to Sir Tho. Fairfax; I told them that I was very sorry that any who belonged to his Excellency should be so undervalued as not to be allowed post-horses for money to follow their necessary employments. The post told me, that the Committee was informed, that Sir Thomas Fairfax was falling off from what he was. I answered him in the heat of blood, that he was the son of a whore that told him so. And so having satisfied the charges of the house, I walked forth into the street, no man regarding me, where an honest young man, one who had been a soldier, Thomas Slatter by name, proffered to go along with me, and to do me any courtesy he could for Sir Thomas Fairfax, which accordingly he did, and carrying my cloak for me, I all that night travelled in my boots, and by the next night we came into Gloucestershire, and had marched on foot full fifty miles. There I found a friend who lent me a horse that carried me unto other friends; being with whom, I did send for divers gentlemen from the counties of Gloucester, Worcester, and Hereford, who loved me well; and having communicated myself unto them, and showed that the intent of Sir Thomas Fairfax was to restore the King to his parliament, to God's glory and our comfort, he enjoying his crown and dignity, and the subjects their liberties and privileges, I found the gentlemen so propense unto that cause, that for so good an end I should not want for men, money, horse, or arms, but I readily should have them.

Finding such a general inclination, I suddenly prepared for London again, and took my way by Tewksbury, and sent two messengers on foot to Stow-in-the-Old, to lodge there at the sign of the Crown, at the house of one Dickson. They came thither on Saturday night was three weeks, and found there ten guests, seven of them seeming to be gentlemen, and the other three to be their servants, who were directed by a special friend in private to that house. I came there on the Lord's day in the morning, and brought with me a gentleman that was my friend; these ten being merry, and frolic with the host of the house, he told them, that the King and parliament would agree. Immediately they declared themselves to be utterly against Sir Thomas Fairfax and his army, railing against his Excellency in a nature too high to report, and withal affirming, that if they had come through his army they had been all made slaves. Thereupon they confessed, they were going to Worcester to raise forces for Ireland. They had in their portmanteau as much gold and silver as two men could easily lay upon a horse, they could not put their hands into their pockets to pay for a quart of wine, but they pulled forth handfuls of gold. I perceiving that this pretence of them for Ireland was only a design to raise forces against his Excellency's army, for I knew it could not be for Ireland, I called unto me the man of the house who was my friend, and told him that they were base fellows, for I was confident, that what they said was false; I therefore desired him that he would be pleased to depart his house, and when they were set at dinner, I and the three men with me would kill three or four of them, and give quarter to the rest, and bring up their money, horse and arms unto Sir Thomas Fairfax. The inn-keeper was daunted at it, and said, they were sent thither by a special friend, however if he thought they were against the King and Sir Thomas Fairfax, he would willingly on the highway be one of my side, and withal importuned me to be patient, and to forbear them in his own house. I was much vexed at it, and the rather, because they would have had away my two footmen with them: upon my soul, had the man of the house been right, we should have both mastered and disarmed them.

Seeing I could not prevail, I made haste from thence unto the army, and shortly after lay at Teddington in Bedfordshire, at the sign of the Griffin, extremely weary. On the next morning, I heard that the head-quarters would be at Hatfield, and going thence to Mr. Parrot's at Shidlington, I understood that the head-quarters were at Uxbridge, which made me and my friend to ride our horses very hard, insomuch that I tired mine, and left it with the constable of Barton, and came on foot to Uxbridge on the last Sunday morning: I there spoke with divers gentlemen of my acquaintance, to whom I made known the progress of my journey, and my many sufferings, and what was that which I came about.

The commanders being then busy at council, I met with young Mr. Cromwell, son to the Lieutenant General, by whose means I found out Lieutenant Merrice, and divers other gentlemen, by whom I understood that his Excellency was not raising of forces, but only standing on his own guard, hoping that all would be well. I intended, indeed, to present my service to his Excellency, with about three score or four score foot, and to give him in a true relation of the state of the countries where I had been, knowing where to arm 500 men. And if his Excellency would be pleased to send down a Colonel or two, I would have shown him in a little compass he could be provided with one regiment of horse, and 2000 foot; but God be praised I found things in a better posture; howsoever, I was extremely discontented, considering how I had lost myself in the business.

Relating my mind to the soldiers, they kindly embraced me; I imparted to them in order all my grievances; and out of the true reality of their affections, and sense and fellow-feeling of my sufferings, it is the desire of the soldiers, with the advice of many of my betters in the army, that this should be committed to the press, and the first book to be delivered to the Committee of Northampton, to have a sight thereof, by which they may perceive how much misinformation hath abused them; and the soldier doth not doubt but that the committee (seeing how faithful I have been ever unto the service, and at what expense of money, and how I had both tired myself and horse to advance the welfare of the kingdom), would of themselves be pleased either to give or lend me a horse, with all furniture fitting for a gentleman, that so I may the better be accommodated to present myself unto his Excellency, and personally, and by word of mouth, declare myself unto him. And withal, whereas in the articles which I articled against Mr. Marriot, of Hartwell Park, they were not put in a way, or any mention of sequestration to be made for 2000*l.* worth of goods then to be proved, which was occasioned by a gentleman who gave false information, and deluded the committee, of whose honour I am, and always have been very tender, for I daily pray for Mr. Ousley, Mr. Farmer the High Sheriff, and the rest; and whereas, in assisting Mr. Marriot heretofore, with the hazard of my life, at Hartwell Park, I so far ventured to save his goods, that I killed a horse, and wounded four men: the honourable and virtuous Lady Crane (to whom they did belong) did forgive me all, when Mr. Marriot was to save me harmless, although it should cost him 500*l.*, for which fact some of the committee suffered me to be fined, which fine I paid, in the proceeding of which troubles both my wife and my children wanted. It is the soldier's desire that the saddle should be laid upon the right horse, Mr. Marriot having had the benefit of the crop, and that the fine that was paid should be restored to my wife and children. And if the gentleman who misinformed the committee shall be found out in Northampton town, or thereabouts, it is the soldier's desire that he shall be sent up unto the General, or kept in safe custody until he shall make good the 2000*l.*, for which I shall produce my witnesses; and the business to be heard in the army. And if that any man shall deny the party I shall demand, the soldiers will fetch him with 2000 horse. It is also desired that all executions, writs, and warrants, and actions of battery, concerning Mr. Marriot's business, be made void. And if a new war shall happen in this kingdom (which God forbid), I do here fully declare myself to be for King and Parliament, and willingly to adventure my life in the service, and that I will give in unto the General a list of those gentlemen's names in the counties of Gloucester, Worcester, Hereford, and Salop, that are able and ready to raise 1000 horse and 2000 foot, and willingly and altogether venture both lives, limbs, and fortunes for the King and Parliament, for the safety, for the reconcilement, and the happiness whereof, I do daily and devoutly pray.

The said Mr. Harrison says that the committee is much railed on in this kingdom, but he believes it is long of false intelligence. It is our desire in the whole army, that if the said Marriot shall deny to pay back this fine, that you gentlemen of the committee do pay it to his wife and children, and that you will be pleased to keep the said Marriot with bread and water till he restore the money to you again; for it is nothing but right, and in conscience you ought to see justice done. We hear that many knaves brought letters to Sir Richard Samuel, and did say anything to do Mr. Harrison wrong; they had best give him satisfaction, for we know Sir Richard Samuel well enough.

It is our whole army's desire, that if in case Mr. Harrison shall find out the gentleman who kept Marriot from being sequestered, that then he challenging the man to you, he be kept safe till we fetch him, and Mr. Harrison produce his witness, and then the business to be heard before Sir Tho. Fairfax, and the 2000*l.* before spoken of to be returned to the Parliament's use.

IMPEACHMENT OF THE MALIGNANTS.

[We are not aware that the following document, possessing high historical importance, as furnishing in detail the grounds of the charge brought by the Army against the Malignants, has been printed in any of the collections. It is here given from the original Tract, published in 1647.]

A particular Charge of Impeachment, in the name of his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax, and the Army under his Command, against Denzill Holles, Esq., Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William Lewis, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir William Waller, Sir John Maynard, Knights; Major-General Massey, John Glyn, Esq., Recorder of London; Walter Long, Esq., Colonel Edward Harley, and Anthony Nicholl, Esq., Members of the House of Commons.

WHEREAS on the 15th day of June last, the heads of a charge were delivered in the name of the said army, unto the courts of Parliament, to be sent up to the Parliament against the persons above named. Now in prosecution and maintenance thereof, and according to the power thereby reserved, it is in the name of the said army more particularly charged against the said persons as followeth:

I. That the said Mr. Denzill Holles, during the late war, in prosecution of the evil designs expressed in the general heads or articles formerly exhibited, contrary to the trust reposed in him, contrary to his oath taken in June, 1643, and contrary to the ordinance of Parliament dated in October, 1643, hath assisted the King in the late unnatural war, and held correspondence and intelligence with the enemy against the Parliament, in manner following, viz., he, the said Mr. Holles, being one of the special commissioners for the Parliament, to present propositions of both Houses to the king at Oxford, did privately, and contrary to his instructions, at several times, make his addresses unto the king's party, there then in arms against the Parliament, namely, unto the Earl of Lindsey, the Earl of Southampton, the Lord Savile, and others; and did secretly plot and advise them against the Parliament; and did intimate unto them, or one of them, that the said propositions, then sent unto his Majesty by the Parliament, were unreasonable: and the said Mr. Holles being demanded what answer he would advise the King to make to the said propositions, he, the said Mr. Holles, did advise that the King should demand a treaty however, and then declare how unreasonable the propositions were, and that yet, for the peace of the kingdom, his Majesty would treat upon them; but, withal, wished that the said treaty might be in London, whither the King himself should come upon security. And he, the said Mr. Holles, adding that there was nothing in the world that the violent party (meaning the well-affected party to the Parliament against the enemy) did so much fear as his Majesty's coming to London, which would be a certain dissolution of their authority and power: and the said Mr. Holles bade those said persons, or one of them, assure the King, that if his Majesty knew as much as he the said Mr. Holles knew, his Majesty would take his horse and be at London the next day, or words to that effect. And it being again demanded whether, if the King should be willing to come, it would be accepted of? he, the said Mr. Holles, thereto answered, that certainly it would be much opposed, but yet he, the said Mr. Holles, was confident, that he and his party (meaning some of the members above named, and others) should carry it, and wished the King to put it upon that trial. And the said Mr. Holles was desired by the said Earl of Lindsey, Earl of Southampton, and Lord Savile, or one of them, that he would be pleased to draw such an answer in writing to the said propositions, as he desired the King should send; and the said Earl of Southampton, who was that night to lay in the King's bedchamber, would persuade the King to condescend unto it; and thereupon the said Mr. Holles withdrew, and either the same day, or the next day following, the said Mr.

Holles accordingly carried in his hand unto the said lords, or one of them, a paper ready written, which, as he said, was such an answer to the said propositions as he had drawn for the King to send to the Parliament; which was taken by the said lords, or one of them, and carried to the King to be considered of; and so much thereof as advised the King's coming to London was laid by, the King fearing to adventure himself, but the rest of the said paper the Lord Digby, who wrote the King's answer to the propositions, made use of, in the same words as the said Mr. Holles had set down. And the said Mr. Holles, to ingratiate himself with the King's party, did about the same time revile the well-affected members of the House of Commons, declaring unto the said King's party at Oxford, or some of them, that those well-affected members (which, to render them the more odious as he conceived, he named the violent independent party) had ill intentions and great aversion to peace; and that nothing would be more pleasing to them than for the King to refuse the propositions, how unreasonable soever the same were; and he also then said, that the Commissioners of Scotland were very weary of that violent party, and that they, being desperate to establish their Presbytery here as in Scotland, made their addresses to him, the said Mr. Holles and his party. All which tended to the protracting of the said late war, and to the hindrance of a happy peace.

And the said Mr. Holles did also after that receive from the said Earl of Lindsey at Oxford a letter written in white ink, concerning some secret design, and kept it from the knowledge of the House from February till about July after, when it was discovered by him that brought it, but the letter itself was by the said Mr. Holles, after he had read it, burnt; and the said Earl of Lindsey moved the King for a pass for the said Mr. Holles to go to Oxford, but the King refused to grant it, saying, that Holles did him better service in the Parliament than he could do him at Oxford.

II. That the said Mr. Holles, and Sir Philip Stapleton, during the said late wars, when the Earl of Lindsey went from the Tower of London to Oxford, sent several messages of intelligence to the Earl of Dorset, and Lord Digby, thereby assuring them, that they, the said Mr. Holles and Sir Philip Stapleton, did better service for the King here in Parliament than they could do him if they were at Oxford; and the said Sir Philip Stapleton desired, that the said Earl of Dorset would preserve him, the said Sir Philip Stapleton and his friends, in the good opinion of the party at Oxford, (which was then the King's garrison) and he, the said Sir Philip, would do as much for his lordship, and his friends here, with the Parliament. And the said Mr. Holles and Sir Philip Stapleton, the more to ingratiate themselves into the favour of the enemy, did of their own accord, without any direction of the Parliament, draw up other propositions than those mentioned in the preceding articles, which they affirm were in their judgments fit for the King to grant, and for the Parliament to desire; and being so drawn up, sent them privately to his Majesty, without any authority of Parliament to warrant the same.

III. That the said Mr. Holles, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William Lewis, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir William Waller, Sir John Maynard, Major General Massie, Mr. Glynn, Mr. Long, Colonel Edward Harley, and Anthony Nicholl, in the months of March, April, May, and June last past, and at other times, in prosecution of the evil designs in the several general heads mentioned, have frequently assembled and met together at the Lady Carlisle's lodgings in Whitehall, and in other places, with divers other persons disaffected to the state (without any authority of Parliament), for holding correspondence with the Queen of England now in France, and her participants, with an intent by such secret and clandestine treaties amongst themselves to put conditions upon the Parliament, and to bring in the King upon their own terms, and having a great power upon the treasure of this kingdom, have therewith maintained and encouraged, by pensions and otherwise, the Queen's party in France, thereby to beget a second and more bloody war in this kingdom; and they, or some or one of them, assured the Queen 40,000*l.* per annum, if she would assist them in their design, and that they would do more for the King than the army would do, and that they would find out some means to destroy the army and their friends.

IV. That in further pursuance of the same evil designs, they, the said Mr. Holles, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William Lewis, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir William Waller, and Major General Massie, by the combination aforesaid, within the space of three months last past, without any authority of Parliament invited the Scots, and other foreign forces, to come into this kingdom in a hostile manner, to abet and assist them in the persecuting and effecting of their said designs. And the said Mr. Holles very lately sent to the said Queen of England, then and still in France, advising her, amongst other things, speedily to send the Prince into Scotland, to march into this kingdom at the head of an army, and did send a special messenger to her for such ends and purposes. And the said Mr. Holles, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William

Lewis, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir William Waller, Sir John Maynard, Mr. Glynn, Major General Massie, Mr. Long, Colonel Edward Harley, and Anthony Nicholl, have, underhand of their own accord, without authority of Parliament, listed, or caused or procured to be listed, divers commanders and soldiers, endeavouring thereby to levy and raise a new war in this kingdom, to protect themselves in their unjust oppressions and factious designs, and have at several times within the space of two months last past, invited, encouraged, abetted, and counselled multitudes of reformado-officers and soldiers, and other rude persons, tumultuously and violently to gather together at Westminster, to affright and assault the members of Parliament in their passage to and from the House, to offer violence to the House itself, by locking the door thereof upon them, and so imprisoning them; and by such violences, outrages, and threats, to awe and enforce the Parliament.

V. That the said Mr. Holles, Sir Philip Stapleton, and Mr. Glynn have been, and are obstructers and prejudgers of several petitions to the Parliament for redress of public grievances, and the said Mr. Holles and Sir Philip Stapleton, in the month of May last past, did abuse and affront divers petitioners, who in a peaceable manner then attended the Committee, whereof Colonel Lee was chairman; not only reviling and reproaching them, but violently haling, and boisterously assaulting them, and offered to draw their swords upon Major Tuleday, and others of the said petitioners, and without any authority or power committed Nicholas Tewe, one of the petitioners; and soon afterwards, by the procurement of the said Mr. Holles and Sir Philip Stapleton, and upon their misinformation to the House, the said Major Tuleday and Nicholas Tewe were imprisoned, not being permitted to speak for themselves; and the said Mr. Glynn, about three months since, caused the said Nicholas Tewe to be imprisoned in Newgate, and to be detained a long time there, for no other cause but for having a petition about him, which was to be presented to the House.

VI. That the said Sir John Clotworthy, Sir William Waller, and Major General Massie have lately, in prosecution of the said designs in the said general heads mentioned, against the known laws of this realm, and rules and articles of war, made by Parliament, by an arbitrary power, imprisoned some members of the army without any authority, particularly Ensign Nichols, whose pockets they, without authority, caused to be searched, and several papers to be taken from him, contrary to the liberty of every subject, and caused him to be sent a prisoner from the head-quarters to London, without the authority or privity of the General, or the chief officers of the army, commanding in his absence.

VII. That in or about the month of March last, there being a petition intended from the officers and soldiers of the army to their General, (for such things only as were justly due unto them, and concerning them merely as soldiers,) the said Sir William Waller, Sir John Clotworthy, and Colonel Edward Harley, a member of the army, (having gotten into their hands a copy of the said petition,) by combination with the other members abovementioned, with an intent to abuse the Parliament into prejudices and jealousies against the proceedings of the army, concerning the said petition, (they well knowing that the said army stood in their way, and hindereth them from bringing to pass the designs in the said general charges expressed,) did falsely and maliciously inform the House, that the said petition was contrived and promoted to debauch and disoblige the army from the Parliament, and that it was managed and carried on by divers principal officers in the army; that orders were given out for the reading of it in the head of every regiment, and whosoever would not subscribe it, should be put out of the musters, and cashiered the army, and by those and other aggravations, did represent it to the House as a design against the Parliament; further adding, that some regiments which were remote were sent for to join with the rest of the army for that purpose, by which misinformations they, the said members, did the same day procure a peremptory order to the General to suppress the said petition.

VIII. That some few days after, Colonel Edward Harley, by the combination aforesaid, and in pursuance of the same designs, did produce to the House a letter, supposed to be written from within the quarters of the army, to him the said Colonel Harley, by a person not named, whereby it was informed that Colonel Harley's Lieutenant Colonel had drawn his regiment to a rendezvous, and had caused the said petition to be read at the head of it, and that he threatened to cashier and put out of the musters all that would not subscribe it, and that the design of the army therein was to enslave the Parliament and kingdom, (if the Parliament proceeded not to some high resolution) or to that effect, as by the said letter (relation thereunto being had) may appear; and, although the substance of the said letter was most untrue, and no author thereof appeared, nor could be produced, although a Committee was appointed for examination thereof, and it was much pressed the author should be discovered, yet the said Colonel

Harley, Sir John Clotworthy, and Sir William Waller, did so avow the reality of the said letter, and that the contents thereof would be made good, as that thereby, and by other false suggestions of theirs against the army, they procured the House (upon a long debate, which held till about eight of the clock at night) to order that a committee of five members (whereof the said Mr. Holles was one) should prepare a declaration, to be brought into the House the next morning, signifying the House's dislike of the proceedings of the army upon that petition, as by the said order dated ——— day of ——— last, may appear.

Upon which settling of the said business for that night, most of the members departed, as conceiving nothing would be done thereupon till the next day, and that then they might have a free debate concerning the same; but the House still continuing to sit (upon dispatch of some letters formerly ordered) the said Mr. Holles, by the same combination, and in further prosecution of the said evil designs, having of himself (without the committee) prepared a declaration against the petition itself, contrary to the intention and direction of the said order, and contrary to the rules of justice and usual course of Parliament, did the same night, about ten of the clock, on purpose to surprise the House, present the same declaration to the House, whereby the said petitioners were (without being heard) declared enemies to the State, and obstructers to the relief of Ireland, if they persisted therein, (as by the same declaration, relation being thereunto had may appear,) and did procure it to be then passed accordingly, to the great dishonour of the Parliament and their proceedings, to the insufferable injury, the just provocations, discouragement, and discontent of the army, to the trouble and danger of the whole kingdom, to the hindering of the relief of Ireland, and other the evil consequences in the said general charges expressed,

IX. That by the same, and the like false informations and suggestions, the said Colonel Harley (then a member of the army), Sir John Clotworthy, Sir William Waller, and the said other persons, did, shortly after the declaration so made as aforesaid, procure divers eminent and faithful officers of the army, namely, Lieutenant General Hammond, Colonel Hammond, Colonel Lilburne, Lieutenant Colonel Pride, and others, to be all sent for from their charges in the army to appear at the bar of the House, to make answer in relation to the said petition, against whom, when they came thither, they could charge or prove nothing at all, insomuch as the House thought fit immediately to discharge them. And whereas there was a committee appointed to examine and consider of the truth or falsehood of them, and the said members informing were appointed to produce their proofs and evidence to the same before the committee; though they have since then been often urged to produce their proofs and evidence thereto (if they had any), and have been plainly told that if they did not proceed effectually to do it they should be accounted the authors and devisers of the said falsehoods, and reparation would accordingly be demanded against them, yet they have not to this day produced any proofs or evidence to any of the said informations or suggestions, whereby the Parliament and the army were so much abused as before is declared; nor could they, or any of them, be hitherto persuaded to give into the said committee any charge against the said officers of the army, which they have then or since procured to be sent for as aforesaid, but have held divers of them in a long and chargeable attendance upon the House, without anything laid to their charge, until the House was pleased to discharge them.

X. That the said Mr. Holles, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William Lewis, Sir William Waller, Sir John Clotworthy, and Major General Massie, in further pursuance of the designs mentioned in the general heads charged against them, have been great instruments in the obstructing of the relief of Ireland; and, within the space of two months last past, did falsely inform the House that, by their procurement, there were fifty companies of foot and ten troops of horse of this army engaged for Ireland, upon the terms and under the conduct then by the Parliament propounded; and the more to elude the Parliament herein, they, or some of them, by the combination aforesaid, did procure divers officers then in this army, namely, Colonel Butler, Lieutenant Colonel Jackson, Major Gooday, and others to give in their names as enlisting themselves for Ireland, on the said terms and conduct propounded, whereas those officers did at the same time declare themselves unwilling thereunto, and resolved not to go and serve in Ireland on any terms whatsoever; they, the said members, underhand assuring them that though they made use of their names, yet they should not go for that service. They have likewise untruly informed the House, and given in the names of many considerable officers of the army, namely, Captain Pennifather, and Captain Burgess, of Colonel Butler's regiment; Captain Clarke, and four or more commissioned officers of Sir Hardress Waller's regiment, and others, as having been subscribed for Ireland, who did not so engage or subscribe, nor give any consent thereto, but did then, and have ever since utterly disavowed and denied the same.

And about the same time they also reported to the House the name and offer of Lieutenant Colonel Farrington, as being then a Lieutenant Colonel of this army, and engaging for himself and his regiment for Ireland, whereas the said Farrington had been cashiered the army a year and a half before. By which other and their untrue informations and reports of that nature, the Parliament was abused and misled into a conceit and confidence of a strength out of the army, then supposed to be engaged and ready for Ireland on their own turns, when, as in truth, the same was but a mere delusion, and which was so contrived on purpose to occasion a slighting and neglecting of the army, as supposing no further use for them.

XI. Whereas part of three regiments of foot (viz., Colonel Herbert's, Colonel Kemp's, and Colonel Gray's,) were by order of the House advanced towards the relief of Ireland as far as Bromesgrave, in the county of Worcester. The said Sir Philip Stapleton, Mr. Holles, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir William Lewis, Major General Massie, Sir William Waller, and Mr. Glynn, by combination aforesaid, did, of their own accord, without the knowledge or direction of the House, on the 6th day of June last, (being Sabbath day, and without summoning a committee,) command those forces back again as far as Reading, with an evil intent to draw forces together to beget a new war in England.

XII. That the said Sir John Clotworthy, in prosecution of the designs in the said general charge expressed, hath in the years 1642, 1643, 1644, and since, converted several large sums of money (which, by several orders of Parliament, and of the Irish committee, were designed for the relief of Ireland,) to his own particular use; namely, the sum of 280*l.*, which, by order of both Houses, dated the 11th of February, 1642, was to be paid for twenty butts of sack for Ireland; 700*l.* which the same day was also ordered for 2000 swords; 300*l.* which by order of the said Irish Committee, dated the 1st of April, 1643, was designed for 120 pair of pistols, and divers other sums of money upon several other orders, which he, the said Sir John Clotworthy, from time to time, received for the use and relief of Ireland, but were not employed to the uses, by the said orders intended and directed, but to his, the said Sir John Clotworthy's own private use as aforesaid. And that he hath, within two years last past, received several sums of moneys, arms, and other provisions, for a troop of horse, which he pretended he had raised in Ireland; whereas he had not, nor did raise or furnish any such troop as he pretended. And that he, the said Sir John Clotworthy, for money and other rewards, hath preferred John Davies and William Summers, and others, to be entrusted with the Irish affairs, who have kept correspondence with the enemy, and have defrauded the State of other great sums of money, and he hath been privy to, and a sharer in such, their actions.

XIII. That about/November last past the said Sir John Clotworthy being by the Parliament sent a commissioner with others into Ireland, who all had a joint power or authority to treat with the Earl of Ormond for the space of four days, and no more, he the said Sir John Clotworthy, contrary to the special trust reposed in him, held secret intelligence with the said Earl of Ormond, by cypher or character, without the consent or knowledge of those others in commission with him; and many weeks after the time so limited was expired, and about the same time he the said Sir John Clotworthy held the like secret intelligence with the Lord George Digby, then in Ireland, beyond the time prefixed, and without the consent of the said other commissioners, and in order thereunto the Lords Ormond and Digby lately employed one Slingsby, who pretends a design about the Prince, to come into this kingdom.

XIV. That the said Sir John Clotworthy, Mr. Holles, Sir Philip Stapleton, by combination with the rest of the members before-named (in further prosecution of the designs mentioned in the same), well knowing that the Lord Lisle, late President of Ireland, was both faithful and vigilant while he was trusted in the same kingdom, and had now this last Spring made provisions ready to march into the field, and that the Lord Baron of Broghill, General of the Parliament horse in Munster, and Colonel Sir Arthur Loftus, persons of honour and reputation, and of great fortunes in the said kingdom, lately came purposely into this kingdom, to exhibit, and did exhibit, many articles of high treason against the Lord Inchiquin, for betraying the Parliament's army to the enemy (as formerly he had done), yet by the great power and violent interposition of the said Sir John Clotworthy, Mr. Holles, Sir Philip Stapleton, by the practice and combination aforesaid, the said articles having been obstructed, and the business not suffered to come to a hearing, and the said Lord Lisle hastily called out of Ireland, and the power and command of the Parliament forces in that kingdom committed to the said Lord of Inchiquin, to the loss of this Summer's service, and the expense of much treasure, to make new preparations. And whereas the said Lord Lisle being so suddenly called from thence as aforesaid, did design and depute Sir Hardress Waller

Knight, Major General of the forces there, a man of known integrity and courage, both for his service in England and in Ireland, and of considerable fortunes, there to take care of the said Lord Lisle's forces till the pleasure of the Parliament might be further known. The said Lord of Inchiquin, upon the receipt of a letter from the said Sir John Clotworthy, Mr. Holles, and Sir Philip Stapleton, or one of them, or from some other person, by their or one of their direction, privity, or procurement, did express that he had order or direction from London, that no man that favoured the Independents (under which name the said Lord of Inchiquin hath comprehended all men that have showed themselves opposite to tyranny and arbitrary government) should have any trust or warrant there; nay, though they were of another judgment, yet if they would not prosecute the Independents they should not be employed there, or words to that effect; and under colour thereof, the said Sir Hardress Waller, and all others that formerly had had their commissions from the said Lord Lisle, while he commanded, were displaced, to the discouragement of those other faithful persons, and to the Parliament, and to the great disservice and danger of the loss of this kingdom.

XV. That whereas a Committee of the House of Commons hath been lately appointed by the Parliament to consider of propositions for the settling and preservation of Wales, whereof the said Sir William Lewis and Master Glynn were and are members, and to report the same to the House. They the said Sir William Lewis, and Master Glynn, with others of the said committee did, on the 30th day of April now last past, without any authority of Parliament, before any report made to the House of their own accord (instead of settling and preserving Wales), order that all committees for sequestrations should forbear all proceedings of sequestration, against all or any of the inhabitants of Wales; and although some few persons were, upon general heads, excepted, yet by virtue of that illegal order, all the commissioners of peace and commissioners of association, who were as active in raising money and pressing men, to serve against the Parliament as any others, all the commissioners of array, that did or should at any time come in, or submit to the Parliament or their commanders-in-chief, without any limitation of time, all that had borne arms against the Parliament, unless they were governors and other officers of war, that held out some town, castle, or fort against the Parliament; all disaffected and scandalous ministers (though in their sermons they usually reviled and scandalised the Parliament and their proceedings, calling them rebels and traitors, and not only incensing the people against the Parliament, but usually taking up arms, and leading their parishioners in arms upon any alarm against the Parliament; and many other desperate delinquents have been, and still are taken off and freed from sequestration; and the said order was sent to every committee in Wales, in several letters, contrary to several orders and ordinances of Parliament, and contrary to the rules of justice and equity, which should impartially be administered as well in Wales as in other places of this kingdom, whereby the ill-affected gentry and ministry of that country are grown so high and insolent, that honest men dare scarce live amongst them; so as that which was intended by the Parliament, to settle and preserve Wales, is (by the practice of the said Sir William Lewis, and Mr. Glynn), perverted to the danger and destruction of it.

XVI. That the said Sir William Lewis, and Mr. Glynn, have further ingratiated themselves with the delinquents of Wales, and prepared them for their said designs in manner following; viz., he the said Sir William Lewis has, within two years last past, countenanced and protected many of the most notorious and dangerous delinquents within the several counties of South Wales, namely, the Lord of Carberry, and others in Carnarvonshire, Mr. Carew and others in Glamorganshire, Mr. Morgan, late Knight of the Shire, Mr. John Herbert, and others in Brecknockshire, Mr. Gwynne, Mr. Lewis, and divers others in Radnorshire, by freeing some of them altogether from compositions, though sequestered, by labouring divers members of the House, and of committees, to be favourable in compounding with others, and to admit of such to their compositions as were incapable thereof; and the said Sir William Lewis hath animated, and encouraged some of the said persons to continue their fidelity to the King's cause, promising them, that if they would engage their friends with the King for him, he and his would be their friends in the Parliament, insomuch as his friends (the delinquents in those parts) have lately looked on him as a rising man when the King shall come to London—which hath lately been their constant boasting. And the said Sir William Lewis hath within two years last past, caused divers that had been Commissioners for the King, and had pressed men, and raised money to promote the late war against the Parliament, namely, his brother, Mr. Thomas Lewis, Mr. Gwynne, Mr. Charles Walbiffe, Mr. Meredith Lewis, Mr. Edward Williams, and many others, to be Commissioners of the Peace, and committee men for the said county of Brecknock; insomuch as those that have been most active and faithful to the Parliament, have been, and still are, outvoted in those places, and can do no considerable service for the Parliament, and the rather for that the said Sir William Lewis hath also procured one Edward Williams, (his own kinsman, and one much disaffected to the Parliament,) to be Solicitor of Sequestrations in the said county, who is, and hath been, very remiss and corrupt therein. And the said Sir William Lewis hath, by the means aforesaid, lately procured Mr. Edmond Lewis, his son, (though unfit for that employment,) to be chosen and returned burgess for Brecknock, which that he might the better effect, he kept the writ for election of the said burgess above eight months in his own custody, before it was delivered to the Sheriff of the said county. And likewise, that the said Mr. John Glynn, within two years last past, hath procured several persons, that have lately been commissioners of array, and in arms against the Parliament at North Wales, viz., ——— and others, to be named, in the commissions of the peace for the counties of Denbigh and Carnarvon, and other counties there, and to be put in other great places of trust and command there; and amongst others, Colonel Glynn, his brother, who was lately a Colonel in the King's army, is, by the said Mr. John Glynn's procurement, became Governor of the town and Castle of Carnarvon, and Admiral or Vice-Admiral of the Irish seas, to the endangering of those counties lying upon the coasts towards Ireland, and to the fear and discouragement of the well-affected inhabitants of those places.

XVII. That the said Sir William Lewis, being heretofore during these troubles governor of Portsmouth, a garrison for the Parliament (in which time he received much of the public treasure, for which he hath not yet given an account), did while he was governor there, frequently hold correspondence and intelligence with the King's party, about the delivery up of the said garrison, insomuch as although Sir William Waller and divers others in that garrison were proclaimed traitors to the King, yet he (by the King's special command) was spared, the King affirming that the said Sir William Lewis was his friend, and that he was confident he would do him good service, or to that effect; and although he then was a Parliament man, and governor of Portsmouth as aforesaid, and his estate in the said county of Brecon (being of the value of above 600*l.* per annum) was three years in the King's quarters, yet the same was never sequestered. And since the Parliament hath prevailed, Colonel Herbert Price, Esq., having been governor of Brecknock for the King against the Parliament being sequestered, the said Sir William Lewis, by his solicitations to the committee, procured the personal estate of the said Colonel Price (which the committee of the county had found out and caused to be brought to Morgan Aubrey's house in Brecon), to be restored unto him without any satisfaction to the State, and hath procured his, the said Colonel Price's lands in the said county of Brecon, being worth about 300*l.* per annum, to be let to a friend of the said Colonel Price, to his wife's use, at 50*l.* per annum, contrary to the directions of several ordinances of Parliament made in that behalf.

XVIII. That the said Mr. John Glynn, or some other person or persons, by his direction, consent, or privity, or to his use, hath, during his being a member of the House of Commons, taken rewards of several persons for service done them in the House, as, namely, amongst others, divers drovers from Wales, who, by his means and procurement, had an allowance by order of the House for 3000*l.*, in satisfaction of losses they had sustained by the enemy, did pay unto the wife of the said Mr. Glynn the sum of 100*l.* as a reward for his said service.

XIX. That the said Mr. John Glynn, as he hath been most active to bring into the commissions of peace and into other places of authority, divers notorious delinquents in North Wales as aforesaid, so he hath been as active (as much as in him lies) to put out and keep out of the militia and Common Council of London, and out of the commission of the peace for Middlesex, many eminent and faithful men that have laid out their estates and adventured their lives for the defence of the Parliament and City in the time of their greatest necessity; namely, Alderman Pennington, Colonel Tichburne, Mr. Eastwick, Mr. Moyer, and others, contrary to the declaration of both kingdoms, which hath assured all lawful favour and encouragement to those that have been faithful, and shall so continue to the Parliament, which doings must needs tend to the giving a fresh occasion and power to the enemy against the Parliament's best friends, to the dishonour of the Parliament and the endangering of the kingdom.

XX. That the said Sir Philip Stapleton, Mr. Holles, and Sir William Lewis, have, by their power and countenance as members of the House of Commons, both jointly and severally used means to obstruct the course of justice, and have interposed themselves in several causes, and by word of mouth moved and persuaded judges and other officers, on the behalf of such as they conceive to be their friends: amongst others, whereas a great cause was lately depending in the

House of Lords between Alderman Langham and Captain Lymery, and counsel was met for the pleading thereof; the said Sir Philip Stapleton, Mr. Holles, and Sir William Lewis, did repair to the Earl of Rutland about the same, and the said Sir Philip Stapleton told the said Earl that they (meaning himself and the said Mr. Holles and Sir William Lewis), were fully satisfied concerning the justness of Langham's cause, and therefore, as the said Earl did respect them, the said Sir Philip Stapleton, Mr. Holles, and Sir William Lewis, or expected from them, he, the said Earl of Rutland, should give his vote for Langham, or used words to that effect, which also was seconded by the said Mr. Holles in words, and agreed unto by the said Sir William Lewis, as appeared by his presence and gesture, and the said Sir William Lewis did exercise the same power in a cause of John Gunter and others.

XXI. That the said Mr. Anthony Nicholls, although about four years since he was (by a committee of privileges) voted that he was not a member fit to sit in the House by reason his election was void; yet he, the said Mr. Nicholls, doth not only sit and vote there as a member, but by his power and threats in the west countries, and by his solicitations and indirect practices, had brought in, or procured to be brought in, about twenty-eight members more out of Cornwall, on purpose to carry on the designs and practices before mentioned, and to make a faction in the said House. And, notwithstanding the self-denying ordinance, he, the said Mr. Nicholls, doth still hold a place in the Tower, formerly conferred upon him by the House, and receiveth the profits thereof to his own use.

XXII. That the said Mr. Nicholls hath, since his sitting in the House as aforesaid, taken rewards for service done there, namely—whereas Sir William Uvedale, Knight, for deserting the Parliament, and going to York with the King, was suspended the House, he, the said Mr. Nicholls, for the sum of 100*l.* or 150*l.* paid unto him, or to his use, by the said Sir William Uvedale, or some for him, did, by misinformations to the House, procure the said Sir William Uvedale to be re-admitted a member of the said House. And the said Mr. Nicholls, while he was a member of the Committee for Safety, he and others of the said committee, having issued forth a warrant for searching Greenwich House: he, the said Mr. Nicholls, did, underhand, acquaint one of the Queen's officers therewith, and thereby prevented the design of the said committee, to the great disservice of the Parliament and kingdom.

XXIII. That the said Mr. Long, at the beginning of the late wars, not having courage sufficient to perform his duty in military affairs, did, out of covetousness or other unworthy end, procure a command of a troop of horse, under his Excellency the late Lord General, the Earl of Essex; but whenever his said troop came upon any service, he, the said Mr. Long, out of fear or treachery, unworthily absented himself, and never was seen or known to charge the enemy in person, though his troop often engaged—namely, at the battle of Edgehill; when he saw there were like to be blows, he, the said Mr. Long, left the field, and never charged before his troop; and at the battle or fight at Brainford, though his troop were there, yet he staid at London till the danger was passed, and the fighting done. And when his troop was sent into the west, he took no other notice of it, but to receive his pay, and in the meanwhile he repaired into the county of Essex, and procured a commission to be a colonel of horse, and, instead of fighting against the Parliament's enemies, he betook himself to plunder and oppress the Parliament's friends there; and, contrary to order, and without any authority or exigencies of war compelling him thereunto, enforced great sums of money, and many horses and other provisions from the country—namely, from Mr. Thomas Manwood, a man well affected, who had the General's protection, and whose horses had been taken from the plough, and others, to the great losses and oppression of the people, and to the great dishonour of the Parliament, whose service he nevertheless neglected, and hath not hitherto given an account of the great sums of money, and other things, that he had so exacted of the country, as aforesaid.

XXIV. That the said Mr. Long afterwards, upon pretence of some losses sustained by the enemy, and some great service he had done for the State, did procure of the House a great office in the Chancery—namely, to be the chief registrar of that court, wherein his skill was little, and whereof he was, and still is, altogether incapable; and, although for a time, upon the self-denying ordinance, he was displaced, yet upon the motion, or by the power and means of the said Mr. Holles, he hath obtained the same office again, to the great prejudice of skilful clerks that have been bred up in the said court, to the disservice of the commonwealth, and the dishonour of the House.

XXV. That the said Mr. Long, on purpose to drive on the designs in the said several charges expressed, hath, for the space of two years last past, usually pressed and urged several members to give their votes such ways as he pleased, and to that end and purpose doth constantly place himself near the door of the House, that when any debate is concerning any design wherein his party is engaged, he, the said Mr. Long, hath used much tampering and violence to such of his own party as would go out of the House and hath persuaded them to continue there for their votes; and he, the said Mr. Long, in case any such have gone out of the House, hath been very inquisitive where they might be found, that so he may go for them when the business in debate comes near to be put to the vote, and when they come out according to his expectation, doth ordinarily and speedily run out of the House himself to call them and drive them in again; that he hath been commonly called (by those that are without the House, and have taken notice of his actions) the Parliament Driver; whereby the freedom of the members is taken from them, and the manner of the Parliament's proceedings much scandalised, and many times evil and dangerous designs drove on in a faction by votes, to the great prejudice of the commonwealth.

All which matters and things the said army shall and will be ready (in convenient time) to make good, by proof upon oath, as this honourable House shall direct. And for that by reason of the straitness of time, and other more weighty affairs of the army, they could not so fully finish and accomplish the said articles; therefore, the said army still reserve further liberty to add other articles against the said members, or any of them, at any time before the trial, as occasion shall serve.

By the appointment of his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax, and the Council of War.

(Signed) JOHN RUSHWORTH,
Secretary.

INDEX.

Abbot, Dr., Archbishop of Canterbury, refuses to license the printing of Dr. Sibthorpe's sermon, i. 67
Abergavenny, Lord, precedency of, argued in the upper House, i. 159
Acton, Mr., Sheriff of London, committed to Tower, i. 157
Aldborough, Mr., alluded to as auditor of billet-accounts, ii. 216
Alford, Mr. Edward, pricked for sheriff, by order of Charles I., i. 34
Allenson, Mr., knighted by Charles I., i. 281
Allington, Sir Giles, fined by Star Chamber, i. 232
Amour, Count de St., taken prisoner at battle of Lens, c. w. ii. 67
Analecta Fairfaxiana, referred to, vol. i. xiii. xix. xx. xxxvii. lvi. lxxxii. lxxxiii. lxxxiv. cix
Anderson, Sir Henry, alluded to in Lord Fairfax's letter to Committee of Safety, c. w. i. 26
Anderson, Colonel Sir Francis, taken prisoner at Sherborne, c. w. i. 254
Anna D., Princesse de Portugal, letters to Lord Fairfax, vol. i. cxii
Anonymous intelligence, c. w. ii. 130
Anstruther, Sir Robert, alluded to in letter of Charles Fairfax, i. 256
Apprentices, London, power of, ii. 3; hatred to Laud, ii. 4; tumults of, ii. 320; demand return of "eleven members," c. w. i. 376; petition Parliament for return of Charles I., c. w. i. 377; riots of, its consequences, c. w. i. 379; break into Lords and Commons, c. w. ii. 380; compel Commons to make ordinance for alteration of militia, c. w. i. 382, 383
Apsley, Joan, first wife of the celebrated Lord Cork, i. 130.
Apsley, Sir Allan, i. 196
Armagh, Lord Bishop of, Lord Strafford's religious opinions confessed to, ii. 157
Armin, Sir William, released from prison by order of Privy Council, i. 88.
Arminianism, spread of, i. 178
Armitage, Mr., ousted from Stewardship of Ripon, c. w. i. 313.
Army, dissatisfaction of, after Rochelle expedition, i. 83; billeting soldiers first practised, i. 95; Sir William Pennyman advances on Berwick, i. 352—357; scarcity of provisions, i. 355; strength of army against Covenanters, i. 355—359; Earl of Essex enters Berwick, i. 358; war proclaimed at Newcastle, i. 361; movements of, i. 362—368; want of ammunition and pay, i. 369—371; peace concluded, i. 369; movements of, at Perth, i. 373; retreat of Lord Holland to Berwick, i. 375, 376; renewal of hostilities, i. 338; Trained Bands assemble at Newcastle, ii. 1; dislike of Trained Bands to Scotch war, ii. 6; Earl of Northumberland declines command of, *ib.*; mutinous state of, ii. 7; garrison of Newcastle, ii. 10; battle of Newbourn, English defeated, ii. 12; rally at Northallerton, ii. 16; treaty with Covenanters opened, ii. 22; skirmish on the Tees, ii. 24; treaty of Ripon, ii. 25; muster of troops, ii. 100; billet money unpaid, ii. 101, 102, 114, 115, 204; military oppression, ii. 112, 203; three regiments disbanded, ii. 208; disputed billet accounts, ii. 210—212; Hamilton and Fielding's regiment disbanded, ii. 212, 213; dishonesty of officers, ii. 214—219; brief of billet money for Hamilton's regiment, ii. 218; subsidies for relief of soldiers, ii. 220; Lord Ferdinando Fairfax's regiment, ii. 252; military preparations, *ib.*; Trained Bands in Yorkshire, ii. 269, 344; billet money, ii. 297; 8000 men raised for Ireland, ii. 315; impressment of soldiers, ii. 316; first interference of Parliament with military power, ii. 311; Major Skippon commands city militia, ii. 340; Lord Digby at Kingston, ii. 342; Trained Bands of Yorkshire garrison, Hull, ii. 343; Yorkshire Trained Bands called

out, ii. 365 ; magazine of Hull removed to London, ii. 398 ; proclamation of Earl of Newcastle for arms, ii. 409 ; the King sets up his standard at Nottingham, c. w. i. 19. *See* ARMY, ROYALIST

Army, Royalist, power of, c. w. i. 24 ; Earl of Newcastle at York, c. w. i. 29 ; plentifully supplied by the Papists, c. w. i. 29; well officered, c. w. i. 34 ; battle of Adderton Moor, c. w. i. 49 ; drives Parliamentary forces into Hull, *ib.* ; advance on Peterborough, c. w. i. 55 ; retire from Peterborough, c. w. i. 56 ; defeated by Cromwell at Gainsborough, c. w. i. 57 ; at Swinstead, c. w. i. 58 ; besieges Bradford, c. w. i. 59 ; Earl of Newcastle enters Lincolnshire, c. w. i. 62 ; Winceby fight, *ib.* ; driven out of Lincolnshire by Lord Fairfax, c. w. i. 65 ; retreats to York, *ib.* ; defeated at Nantwich, c. w. i. 73 ; relief of Newark by Prince Rupert, c. w. i. 77 ; heroic defence of Lathom House by Countess of Derby, c. w. i. 84—89, 92; Prince Rupert at Bolton, c. w. i. 92 ; junction of Prince Rupert and the King frustrated by Sir William Waller, c. w. i. 102 ; flight of the King from Oxford, c. w. i. 104—106 ; Copredy Bridge, c. w. i. 110 ; disasters in the North, *ib.* ; defeated at Marston Moor, c. w. i. 112 ; surrender of Sheffield Castle, c. w. i. 103 ; Helmsley Castle taken, c. w. i. 120 ; *Retrospect of Campaign of* 1644, c. w. i. 143 ; difficulties of raising men for, c. w. i. 164 ; Shrewsbury and Gloucester surrendered, c. w. i. 164, 165, 169 ; the movements of Royalist forces, c. w. i. 166 ; Prince Rupert at Blydwas, c. w. i. 172 ; Prince Maurice at Chirk Castle, *ib.* ; movements of Prince Rupert near Gloucester, c. w. i. 179 ; rumoured junction of the Prince with Northern Royalists, c. w. i. 182, 183 ; Sir M. Langdale defeats Lord Fairfax at Pontefract, c. w. i. 184 ; exchange of prisoners, c. w. i. 185—187 ; ravages of Scotch soldiers, c. w. i. 209 ; Charles I. at Oxford, c. w. i. 215 ; Prince Rupert at Worcester, General Goring at Marlborough, Sir Richard Greville at Taunton, *ib.* ; the King's Horse routed at Islop Bridge, c. w. i. 216 ; Colonel Windebank surrenders Blechington house, *ib.* ; Colonel Windebank shot, *ib.* ; Prince Rupert advances on Oxford, joined by the King, c. w. i. 217 ; Chester taken by, c. w. i. 219 ; takes Leicester by storm, c. w. i. 228 ; defeated at Naseby, c. w. i. 231 ; defeat of General Goring at Langport, c. w. i. 234, 235 ; surrender of Bridgewater, c. w. i. 239 ; Sherborne, siege of, c. w. i. 247 ; Bristol stormed by Parliament forces, c. w. i. 248, 249 ; condition of Royalist forces, c. w. i. 250, 265 ; action at Sherborne, its importance, c. w. i. 251 ; defeat of Lord Digby, c. w. i. 253 ; loses Tiverton, c. w. i. 257 ; Poldram Castle, c. w. i. 264 ; progress of affairs in the west, c. w. i. 264—266 ; siege of Exeter raised, c. w. i. 269 ; *Retrospect of Campaign of* 1645, c. w. i. 275 ; retreat into Cornwall, *ib.* ; loss of Dartmouth, c. w. i. 276 ; Poldram Castle surrendered, c. w. i. 281 ; battle of Torrington, c. w. i. 285, 286 ; Lord Hopton disbands Royalist force under his command, c.w. i. 287, 288 ; surrender of Exeter to Sir Thomas Fairfax, c. w. i. 289—291 ; Oxford taken, and flight of the King, c. w. i. 296, 297 ; Ragland Castle reduced, c. w. i. 315—317; Charles I. given up to Parliament by the Scotch, c. w. i. 327 ; renewal of hostilities, c. w. ii. 21 ; Berwick taken by Sir M. Langdale, *ib.* ; Colonel Horton defeats Royalists at St. Fagan's, c. w. ii. 22 ; General Lord Goring, commander-in-chief of, c. w. ii. 31 ; defeated at Maidstone, c. w. ii. 31—33 ; retires into Essex, c. w. ii. 34 ; General Goring reinforced by Sir Charles Lucas, *ib.* ; movements of Royalists in Essex, c. w. ii. 35 ; divided councils in, c. w. ii. 36 ; misrepresentations of Sir Charles Lucas to, *ib.* ; march to Colchester, c. w. ii. 40 ; licentiousness of, c. w. ii. 41 ; proclamation of Sir Charles Lucas to, c. w. ii. 42 ; defence of Colchester by, c. w. ii. 43—45 ; execution of Royalist leaders, c. w. ii. 47 ; defeated at Preston by Cromwell, c. w. ii. 60 ; battle of Preston, *ib.* ; Sir M. Langdale taken prisoner, c. w. ii. 63 ; movements of Royalists in Ireland, c. w. ii. 88, 91, 94, 96, 98—100, 104, 107, 108, 110, 118—120 ; defeat of O'Neale, c. w. ii. 92 ; action near Dublin, c. w. ii. 96 ; Royalists in Scotland, c. w. ii. 118 ; the Prince of Wales proclaimed in Scotland, c. w. ii. 129 ; General Leslie defeated near Dunbar, *ib.*; battle of Worcester, c. w. ii. 130, 133 ; restoration of Charles II., c. w. ii. 174

Army, Parliamentary, Wells besieged, c. w. i. 17 ; three hundred Horse enter Somerset, *ib.* ; Lord Ferdinando Fairfax, commander of Northern forces, c. w. i. 20 ; soldiers billeted upon the county, c. w. i. 24 ; weakness of Parliamentary forces in Yorkshire, c. w. i. 26 ; Colonel Boynton at Hull, *ib.* ; Sir John Gill raises 800 men, *ib.* ; strength of, in the North, *ib.* ; Wetherby skirmish, c. w. i. 27 ; retires upon Selby, c. w. i. 28 ; supported by loans, *ib.*; Bradford action, Royalists retire to Leeds, c. w. i. 34 ; irregular movements of, c. w. i. 44 ; treachery of the Hothams, c. w. i. 48 ; execution of the Hothams, c. w. i. 49 ; defeated at Adderton Moor, *ib.* ; falls back upon Hull, *ib.* ; in want of supplies, c. w. i. 55 ; Cromwell at Gainsborough, c. w. i. 57; Bradford besieged by Earl of Newcastle, c. w. i. 59 ; Winceby fight, c. w. i. 62 ; signal success of, c. w. i. 65 ; Sir Thomas Fairfax in Cheshire, c. w. i. 67—69 ; battle of Nantwich, c. w. i. 73; pay in arrears, c. w. i. 75; siege of Newark, c. w. i. 77; bad condition of, c. w. i. 80, 84; Sir Thomas Fairfax at Lathom House, c. w. i. 84—87 ; Colonel Rigby at Lathom House, c. w. i. 88 ; Stamford Bridge, c. w. i. 95; junction of the Earl of Leven with Earl of Manchester, c. w. i. 102 ; Sir William Waller prevents junction of Charles and Prince Rupert, *ib.* ; Weymouth taken, c. w. i. 110; Marston Moor, c. w. i. 112; surrender of Sheffield Castle and York, c. w. i. 113; Helmsley Castle taken, c. w. i. 120 ; licentiousness of soldiery, c. w. i. 130—134 ; *Retrospect of Campaign of* 1644, c. w. i. 143 ; Sir Thomas Fairfax, Generalissimo of, c. w. i. 157; remodelling of, c.w. i. 159 ; officers of new army to take the covenant, c. w. i. 161 ; two forts at Weymouth taken, *ib.* ; militia under Sir William Waller refuse to march, c. w. i. 162; Shrewsbury and Gloucester taken, c. w. i. 164—166, 169 ; movements of Waller and Cromwell in the west, c. w. i. 166 ; officers of Sir Thomas Fairfax approved by Commons, *ib.* ; day of thanksgiving for success of, *ib.* ; Essex, Manchester, and Denbigh resign their commands in, c.w. i. 174 ; movements of troops about Bradford and Wakefield, c. w. i. 177—181 ; Lord Ferdinando Fairfax defeated at Pontefract by Sir M. Langdale, c. w. i. 184 ; exchange of prisoners, c. w. i. 185—187 ; forbearance of, c. w. i. 200 ; Lord Fairfax at York and Hull, c. w. i. 215 ; the King's Horse routed at Islop Bridge, c. w. i. 216 ; surrender of Blechington House, *ib.* ; relief of Taunton, c. w. i. 217, 219 ; difficulty of raising supplies for, c. w. i. 223—226 ; battle of Naseby, c. w. i. 231 ; Fairfax and Cromwell at the siege of Bridgewater, c. w. i. 238; Bridgewater taken, c. w. i. 239 ; grant of supplies to, c. w. i. 246 ; siege of Sherborne, c. w. i. 247; Bristol besieged, c. w. i. 248, 249 ; Tiverton stormed, c. w. i. 257; movements of, at Exeter, c. w. i. 258, 259 ; at Autrey, c. w. i. 260 ; sickness of, c. w. i. 261 ; movements of, c. w. i. 263—266 ; Exeter siege raised, c. w. i. 269; *Retrospect of Campaign of* 1645, c. w. i. 270; movements of, in Devonshire, c. w. i. 274; Ashburton retreat, its consequences, c. w. i. 275 ; Dartmouth taken, c. w. i. 276 ; movements of, c. w. i. 281 ; Exeter again besieged, c. w. i. 282, 283 ; march into Cornwall, c. w. i. 284 ; battle of Torrington, c. w. i. 285 ; compels Lord Hopton's army to disband, c. w. i. 287, 288; surrender of Exeter to, c. w. i. 289—291 ; surrender of Oxford to, c. w. i. 297; Ragland Castle, surrender of, to, c. w. i. 315—317; grievances of, c. w. i. 332 ; not permitted to quarter within 25 miles of London, c. w. i. 333 ; want of money, c. w. i. 335 ; mutiny of soldiers at Skipton Castle, *ib.* ; petition Commons for pay and indemnity, c. w. i. 338 ; Dungarvan Castle taken, c. w. i. 340, 341 ; disbanded by the House of Commons, c. w. i. 343, 344 ; opinions thereon, c. w. i. 345, 346, 348, 349 ; seizure of the King by Cornet Joyce, c. w. i. 351 ; demands dismissal of certain members of Parliament, c. w. i. 352, 357 ; its dignity and moderation, *ib.* ; demands security of King's prerogative, c. w. i. 353 ; treats with Parliament, c. w. i. 354, 360, 362, 364, 365, 367—369, 371 ; at St. Alban's, c.w. i. 355 ; its intentions towards King and Parliament, c. w. i. 356 ; desirous of holding the person of Charles, c. w. i. 358 ; disaffection of certain regiments, c. w. i. 360 ; want of pay for, c. w. i. 361 ; prefers charges against members of Commons, c. w. ii. 364 ; honesty of its intentions, c. w. ii. 365, 383 ; arrangement of differences with Parliament, c. w. i. 375 ; the Speakers of both Houses and 100 members driven from Parliament by Apprentice-riot, seek refuge at head-quarters of, c. w. i. 384 ; moderation of, c. w. i. 386 ; Commons refuse to ratify acts of Army during absence of Speakers, c. w. i. 389; present remonstrance to Parliament, c.w.i. 390; declares adherence to Parliament, c. w. ii. 4; renewal of hostilities, c. w. ii. 21; Cromwell marches into Wales, c. w. ii. 22; Colonel Horton defeats Royalists at St. Fagan's, *ib.*; petition Lord Fairfax as to justice of its cause, c. w. ii. 25; petition of Colonel Rich's regiment, *ib.*; defeats Royalists at Maidstone, c. w. ii. 32; battle of Maidstone, *ib.*; marches into Essex, c. w. ii. 36; besieges Colchester, c. w. ii. 41—46; movements of Cromwell in Lancashire, c. w. ii. 60; battle of Preston, *ib.*; capture of Sir M. Langdale, c. w. ii. 63; remonstrance of, against treaty between King and Parliament, c. w. ii. 75; Lord Fairfax suspends Colonel Hammond, *ib.*; seizes the person of the King, c. w. ii. 76; advances on London, *ib.*; Pride's Purge, *ib.*; position of, during the trial of the King, c. w. ii. 84—86; war in Ireland, c. w. ii. 92, 93, 96, 98—100, 104, 107, 108, 110, 118—120; renewal of war in Scotland, c. w. ii. 129; Leslie defeated, *ib.*; battle of Worcester, c. w. ii. 130; strength of Cromwell's forces, c. w. ii. 132; death of Cromwell, c. w. ii. 146; divided into three sections, c. w. ii. 147; council of officers resolve to call a parliament, c. w. ii. 148; General Monk in Scotland, c. w. ii. 151; position of Lambert's army, *ib.*; movements of Lord Thomas Fairfax, c. w. ii. 164; restoration of Charles II., c. w. ii. 174

Army, Scotch. *See* Covenanters

Army, Spinola's, vol. i. xxxviii

Armyn, Colonel, killed before Pontefract, c. w. i. 184

Arran, Lord, his presence at the death of Duke of Buckingham, alluded to, c. w. ii. 265

Array, commission of, issued by Charles I., c. w. i. 16; makes head in several places, c. w. i. 24

Arthington, Henry, Esq., marries Lady Mary Fairfax, vol. i. lxxv

Articles of pacification, i, 392; appealed to by the Scotch commissioners, *ib.*

Arundel, Earl of, imprisoned by order of Charles I., i. 52; its consequences, i. 53; released, *ib.*; re-imprisoned, i. 55; commander-in-chief in Scotch war, i. 357; general order of, i. 363; at Strafford's trial, ii. 60; reply of, to the mob at Strafford's trial, ii. 96

Ash, Lady, alluded to as purchaser of Fairfax estates, c. w. ii. 256

Ashburton retreat, its results, c. w. i. 275

Ashley, Serjeant, committed for arguing in favour of kingly prerogative, i. 100

Ashton, Mr., alluded to in reference to university at Manchester, ii. 81

Ashton, Colonel, at siege of Lathom House, c. w. i. 90

Asquith, Captain, at Hunstett skirmish, c. w. i. 94

Associated Counties, committee of, appeal to the gentlemen of Huntingdonshire, c. w. i. 54

Astley, Sir Jacob, letter on mutinous state of army, ii. 6; commands 4000 men at Newcastle, ii. 10, *note*; death of, in 1621, ii. 114, 211

Atkins, Thomas, to Mayor of Norwich; sale of bishops' lands, c. w. i. 323; for pay to army and other matters, c. w. ii. 114; resolution of Commons as to number of members, c. w. ii. 115, 116; local news, death of Montrose, c. w. ii. 117

Atkins, J., to Ferdinando, Lord Fairfax; surrender of Neuvard Castle, c. w. i. 189

Atkins, Sir Richard, one of Lord Fairfax's council of war, c. w. i. 39

Attainder, Bill of, (Strafford's), copy, ii. 136

Audley, Lord, execution of, i. 233, *note*

Axtel, Colonel, *note*, i. 311

Babington, Mr. James, to Lord Fairfax, "the Popish Plot," c. w. i. 297

Buck, Captain, commands in Spinola's army, in Low Countries, vol. i. xli

Baillie, ——, to — Wilkie, proclamation of Liturgy, and other ecclesiastical matters, i. 327; description of Scotch army, i. 377; *note*, i. 383; his notice of Strafford's defence, ii. 89; Charles I. in Scotland, ii. 245, *note*; ii. 258

Balfour, Sir William, refuses admittance of soldiers into Tower, ii. 125; refuses Strafford's bribe, *ib.*; denies Strafford an interview with Laud, ii. 151; removed from command of Tower, ii. 318

Ballard, Lieutenant-Colonel, commands 500 men in Scotch war, ii. 7

Balmerino, Lord, opposes act for regulating Kirkmen's apparel, i. 287; tried for leasing-making, i. 289; packed jury, i. 290; guilty, i. 291; pardoned, *ib.*

Baltimore, Lord, his testimony in favour of Lord Strafford, ii. 169

Baltinglass, Lord, opinion of, on result of Lord Strafford's trial, ii. 76

Bancroft, Doctor, Bishop of Oxford, alluded to in a letter to Lord Wentworth, i. 274

Banks, Sir John, Attorney-General, i. 293
Bannatine, Dr., Scotch canons, i. 325.
Bannister, Sir Robert, fined 3000*l.* i. 215
Barlow, Thomas, Dr., to Mr. Evelyn, thanking him for gift to Bodley's Library, c. w. ii. 320
Barnardiston, Sir Nathaniel, released from prison by order of Privy Council, i. 88
Barrell, Gilbert, information against, in Star Chamber, i. 206
Barrington, Thomas, Esq., one of Committee of Safety, c. w. i. 22
Barrow, Mrs., referred to in a letter respecting marriage of Sir Thomas Fairfax, i. 298
Barton, Major, at battle of St. Fagan's, c. w. ii. 23
Barwicke, Mr., knighted by the King at York, ii. 269
Barwick, Sir Robert, parliamentary commissioner, c. w. i. 210
Bassompierre, M., arrives as ambassador, i. 120
Bastwick, —, released from prison, ii. 194
Bateson, Mr., alluded to as schoolmaster of Knaresborough, a recusant, ii, 288
Bath, Lord, alluded to in a letter from Sir Thomas Fairfax, c. w. i. 13
Bathurst, Dr., alluded to in a letter from Lord Wharton, c. w. i, 157
Batrus, ——, his fraudulent conduct towards Sir Thomas Fairfax, vol. i, xxv
Batten, Captain, ordered to blockade Plymouth, c. w. i. 276
Battles, —, Adderton Moor, c. w. i. 49 ; Ashburton retreat, c. w. i. 275
  Bradford, c. w. i. 33, 59 ; Bridgewater stormed, c. w. i. 239, 240 ; Blechington house, c. w. i. 216 ; Bristol stormed, c. w. i. 249 ; Bath stormed, c. w. i. 244 ; Bolton, c. w. i. 92 ; Bovey Tracey, c. w. ii. 174
  Cawood Castle, ii. 415 ; Chester siege, c. w. i. 215, 218, 219 ; Copredy Bridge, c. w. i. 110 ; Colchester siege, c. w. ii. 41—46
  Darnton skirmish, ii. 418 ; Dungarvan Castle, c. w. i. 341 ; Donnington Castle, c. w. i. 291 ; Dartmouth, c. w. i. 276 ; Durham skirmish, ii. 24
  Edgehill, c. w. i. 33 ; Exeter, c. w. i. 289—291
  Gainsborough, c. w. i. 57
  Helmsley Castle, c. w. i. 120 ; Hopton's army surrendered, c. w. i. 287, 288
  Islop Bridge, c. w. i. 216
  Lathom House, c. w. i. 87—90 ; Lincoln stormed, c. w. i. 114, 115 ; Leicester, c. w. i. 288 ; Langport, c. w. i. 234, 235 ; Leeds, ii. 416
  Marston Moor, c. w. i. 112 ; Maidstone, c. w. ii. 32
  Newbourn, ii. 12 ; Nantwich, c. w. i. 73 ; Newark, c. w. i. 78 ; Newcastle, ii. 12 ; Naseby, c. w. i. 231
  Pontefract, c. w. i. 184 ; Poldram House, c. w. i. 264—281 ; Plymouth siege, c. w. i. 275 ; Preston, c. w. ii. 60
  Ragland Castle, c. w. i. 316, 317 ; The Isle of Rhé expedition, i. 67, 68
  Shrewsbury, c. w. i. 170 ; Stamford Bridge, c. w. i. 95 ; Sherborne, c. w. i. 246, 247, 253, 254 ; Sheffield Castle, c. w. i. 113
  Tadcaster, ii. 422 ; Tiverton stormed, c. w. i. 257 ; Torrington, c. w. i. 285 ; Taunton siege, c. w. i. 215
  Wetherby skirmish, ii. 419, c. w. i. 27 ; Winceby fight, c. w. i. 62 ; Wells siege, c. w. i. 17 ; Weymouth, c. w. i. 110—161 ; Worcester, c. w. ii. 146
Baxter, Mr., his doctrines alluded to, by Sir William Morrice, c. w. ii. 142
Beaumont, Sir Richard, remarks of, in reference to conduct of the Court at election for Yorkshire, i. 11 ; one of commissioners for raising subsidy granted to Charles I., i. 210
Beck, General, death of, at battle of Lens, c. w. ii. 67
Bedford, Lord, fined 60*l.* ship money, i. 221; one of English commissioners at treaty of Ripon, ii. 22
Bell, William, knighted by Charles I., i. 281
Bellasis, Henry, Esq., *note*, i. 231 ; examined by Privy Council, i. 405 ; imprisoned, *ib.*; returned for Yorkshire, disabled from sitting in Parliament, *note*, ii. 111
Benede, Mr. John, to Mr. Evelyn, on various matters, c. w. ii. 341
Benson, Mr. Henry, ii. 107 ; *note*, ii. 108 ; unseated for Knaresboro', ii. 260—267 ; his house resort of recusants, ii. 290 ; his conduct to William Warwick, ii. 298 ; attempted arrest of, ii. 323 ; order of Commons for apprehension of, ii. 346 ; escape of, ii. 348, 363, 376
Benson, Major, exchange of prisoners, beheaded, c. w. i. 129
Berkeley, Sir Maurice, released from prison by order of Privy Council, i, 88
Berkeley, Sir John, surrenders Exeter to Sir Thomas Fairfax, c. w. i. 291

Berkeley, Mr. Robert, to Mr. John Evelyn, death of his daughter, c. w. ii. 334 ; horticultural pleasures, c. w. ii. 336

Berkeley, Judge, arrested for perverting the laws, ii. 41

Berkshire, Lord, one of English commissioners at treaty of Ripon, ii. 22

Berwick, taken by Sir M. Langdale, c. w. ii. 21

Bethell, Colonel, alluded to in a letter to Lord Fairfax, c. w. i. 347

Beverley Gate, Charles I. shut out at, c. w. i. 12

Billeting soldiers, when first practised, i. 95 ; oppressive to country, ii. 99 ; billet money unpaid, ii. 114, 115, 204 ; examination of billets, ii. 210—212 ; abstract of billet money of Hamilton's regiment, ii. 215—218 ; Yorkshire billet money, ii. 298 ; division of billet money, ii. 382 ; billet money still due, ii. 391—394 ; Parliamentary army billeted in country, c. w. i. 24

Billingsley, Captain, implicated in Goring's plot, ii. 118 ; attempts to save Lord Strafford, ii. 124 ; discovered, *ib.*

Biron, Sir John, brings intelligence of the advance of the Scotch, i. 377

Bishops' lands, sale of, c. w. i. 323, 326

Bishops, the, misconduct of, ii. 179, 180 ; impeached by Commons, ii. 182 ; Root and Branch Bill, ii. 183 ; their lives endangered, ii. 186 ; absent from Parliament, *ib.* ; protest of, to Lords, *ib.* ; accused by Commons of treason, ii. 187 ; committed to Tower, ii. 188 ; excluded from Parliament, *ib.* ; opinions thereon, ii. 189 ; Selden's opinion, ii. 191 ; abolition of episcopal power, cause division in Parliament, ii. 208

Blackbeard, Mr., illness of, alluded to in a letter of Rushworth to Lord Fairfax, c. w. i. 263

Bladen, John, to Lord Thomas Fairfax, Dr. Duppa, ii. 229 ; Fairfax coat of arms, ii. 230 ; release of Mr. Bellasis, ii. 231; fines in Star Chamber Court, ii. 232 ; Lord Audley's execution, ii. 233 ; Dr. Neale, ii. 234 ; execution of Lord Audley's servants, ii. 235 ; Lord Wentworth's Irish administration, i. 251

Bladen, Captain, alluded to by Sir Thomas Fairfax in a letter to his father, c. w. i. 36

Blainville, Monsieur de, ambassador at the court of St. James, i. 117

Blake, Colonel, at Dunster, c. w. i. 274

Blake, Mr., his doctrines alluded to by Sir William Morrice, c. w. ii. 142

Bland, Sir Thomas, one of commissioners for raising subsidy granted to Charles I. i. 210

Blechington House, taken by Cromwell, c. w. i. 216

Blithman, Jasper, Esq., one of commissioners for raising subsidy granted to Charles I., i. 210

Bohemia, Queen of, alluded to, i. 256

Bolton, Sir Richard, imprisoned for treason, ii. 68

Boothbell, Major, movements of, at battle of St. Fagan's, c. w. ii. 23

Bosville, Major, attempts to convey a letter to the King at Carisbrook Castle, c. w. ii. 5

Boswell, Godfrey, Esq., one of commissioners for raising subsidy granted to Charles I., i. 210

Boswell, Mr., referred to in a letter of Sir Thomas Fairfax, vol i. XXXIII

Bourchier, Sir John, to Lord Fairfax, want of preachers, c. w. i. 337

Bowles, Rev. Edward, to Lord Ferdinando Fairfax, Sir T. Fairfax's officers passed by Lords, c. w. i. 168 ; conduct of Parliament to its Army, c. w. i. 345 ; treaty between Parliament and Army, c. w. i. 354 ; see *note* on Restoration, c. w. ii. 169

Bowyer, Dr., sentenced to the pillory for accusing the Archbishop of Canterbury of Arminianism, vol. i. LXXVII ; charges Laud with papacy, ii. 37

Bradford, action at, Sir T. Fairfax compels the Royalists to fly to Leeds, c. w. i. 33

Bradshaw, Colonel, attainted for high treason, c. w. ii. 150

Bramhall, Dr., imprisoned for treason, ii. 68

Bramston, Sir John, his review of events previous to Restoration, c. w. ii. 198

Brandon, Lord, one of Lord Fairfax's council of war, c. w. i. 39

Branston, Lord Chief Justice, censured by Parliament, ii. 42

Brereton, Sir Wm., besieges Chester, c. w. i. 215 ; appeals to Sir T. Fairfax for aid, c. w. i. 218 ; raises the siege, c. w. i. 219

Bridgewater stormed, c. w. i. 239, 240

Brienne, Dr., his opinion of Buckingham's expedition, i. 79

Bright, Colonel, alluded to respecting surrender of Sheffield Castle, c. w. i. 113

Bristol, Earl of, his accusation against Buckingham, i. 42—47 ; committed to the Tower, i. 55

Broadling, Colonel, ordered by Sir John Saville to Methley, c. w. i. 180

Brockman, Sir William, taken prisoner at battle of Maidstone, c. w. ii. 33

Brook, Lord, his house searched, i. 405

Browne, Christopher, letter to his son, Queen at Dover, c. w. i. 6; dispatch of business in Parliament, *ib.*; allusion to Algernon Sidney, c. w. i. 10

Browne, Sir Richard, letter from Mr. Walter Lye, inviting him to Bristol, c. w. i. 97; member for London, at Worcester and Edgehill, one of commissioners from Scotch army, Resident in Paris, c. w. i. 97; letter from the Elector Palatine, c. w. i. 100, 101; family alliance with John Evelyn, c. w. i. 101; Lord Mayor of London in 1660, c. w. i. 102; letters from Paris to Sir Edward Nicolas, on various matters, efforts to raise Royal cause, c. w. ii. 20; battle of Lens, seizure of members of Assembly, barricades of the Fronde, c. w. ii. 65—68; release of M. de Bruxelles, military movements of Condé, c. w. ii. 69—71; progress of affairs in France, c. w. ii. 73; calumniated by Lord Hatton, c. w. ii. 305; letters to Mr. Evelyn, on various subjects, c. w. 321

Bruce, Lord, appointed one of commissioners to invite Charles I. to England, c. w. ii. 217

Bruxelles, Monsieur, Dr., seizure of, by Queen Regent of France, c. w. ii. 65—67; released, c. w. ii. 69

Buccoy, General, his death alluded to, vol. i. XLIII

Buckeridge, Dr., death of, i. 235

Buckingham, Duke of, proposes an adjournment of Parliament to Oxford, i. 19; sells a part of navy to France, i. 20; resolves to overthrow the Lord Keeper Williams, i. 22; elected Chancellor of Cambridge, i. 29, 51; his stratagems to weaken power of Commons, i. 33; excludes Dr. Williams from the coronation, i. 38; impeached by Dr. Turner, i. 39; his explanation to Commons, i. 41; the Duke's impeachment called the "Cause of Causes," i. 42; the Earl of Bristol accuses him of treason, *ib.*; the Duke charges the Earl with treason, i. 44; impeached by the Commons, i. 47—49; the King interferes, i. 50; expedition to Isle of Rhé, promoted by, i. 67; displaces Sir Randolph Crew, i. 71; issues base coin, i. 75; commands expedition to Rochelle, i. 76; conduct of, at Rochelle, i. 79—82; accused of treachery by Duke of Rohan, *ib.*; indignation of soldiers against, i. 83—88; the Duke retires to Newmarket, i. 89; his joy at Commons voting five subsidies, i. 98; the Duke opposes bill for Petition of Right, i. 102; denounced by Sir Edward Coke in Commons, i. 104; Commons remonstrate on his numerous appointments, i. 110; letter from Charles I. urging him to dismiss the Queen's French attendants, i. 119; letter from Charles I. to the Duke in Paris, i. 121; assassination of, i. 138, 142—146; his disregard to "warnings," i. 139; his death foretold by Lady Davies, i., 140; Buckingham, Duke of, to Charles II., details of his services, c. w. ii. 249; causes of Cromwell's hatred to, c. w. ii. 253

Buckingham, Duchess of—*See* Lady Mary Fairfax

Buckinghamshire freeholders, demonstration of 4000, at Westminster, ii. 230

Bulmer, Colonel, taken prisoner at Sherborne, c. w. i. 254

Bulstrode, Sir Richard, ii. 389, *note*

Burdett, Francis, Esq., one of commissioners for raising subsidy granted to Charles I., i. 210

Burges, Dr., alluded to in letter of John Fairfax, vol. i. XLIII

Burley, Captain, leader of Newport riot for release of Charles at Carisbrooke Castle, c. w. ii. 4

Burlington, Lord, to Lord Fairfax, "Ryehouse Plot," c. w. ii. 234

Burnaby, Dr., see *notes* referring to Lord Fairfax, vol. i. CXXVI. CXXVII

Burnet, Bishop, observations on Lord Balmerino's trial, i. 291, *note*

Burton, imprisoned at Lancaster, i. 338; released from prison, ii. 194

Burton's Diary, *note*, ii. 356

Burrough, Sir John, to Sir Thomas Fairfax, death of his two sons, vol. i. XLVI.; advice of, to Buckingham at Isle of Rhé, i. 81, *note*, *ib.*

Butler, Major, appointed one of Lord Fairfax's council of war, c. w. i. 39

Byron, Lord, defeated at Nantwich, c. w. i. 73, *note*, *ib.*; Lieutenant-General to Prince Rupert, c. w. i. 77

Cabinet Council, when first used, ii. 20

Calender, Lord, at battle of Preston, c. w. ii. 61

Calvert, Mr. Thomas, his Epitaph on Ferdinando, Lord Fairfax, vol. i. LXXXIII

Cambridge, University of, petition to allow Thomas Hobson to ply between Cambridge and London, vol. i. LXIX

Canterbury, Archbishop of, beheaded, c.w. i. 156

Canterbury, Lord, his confinement alluded to by Sir W. Constable, i. 69 ; trial of, alluded to, ii. 180

Capel, Lord Arthur, negociates with Sir T. Fairfax for peace, c. w. i. 260 ; at siege of Colchester, c. w. 44, 46 ; his execution alluded to, c. w. ii. 60

Cardhouse, Captain, taken prisoner at Hunstett, c. w. i. 94

Carleton, Sir Thomas, death of, alluded to, i. 373

Carlisle, Earl of, rumoured embassy of to Germany, i. 229 ; *note*, *ib.*

Carlisle, Countess of, her warning to Pym of the King's intention to seize the "five members," ii. 327

Carlton, Lord, account of the assassination of the Duke of Buckingham, i. 145

Carlyle, Earl of, alluded to, in reference to death of Peregrine Fairfax, vol. i. LIV

Carnaby, Colonel, slain at Winceby fight, c. w. i. 65

Carnaby, Sir Francis, slain at Sherborne, c. w. i. 255

Carr, Dr., his opinion of Lord Strafford, ii. 143 ; at execution of Lord Strafford, ii. 159

Carr, Major, slain at Wetherby skirmish, vol. i. XCVII

Carter, Major, alluded to by Sir John Saville in a letter to Lord F. Fairfax, c. w. i. 179

Cartwright, W., Esq., of Aynho, marries Lady Ursula Fairfax, vol. i. LXXV

Caryll, Francis, his deposition of the alleged murder of Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey, c. w. ii. 300

Castel Rodrigo, Marquis of, his appointment of Captain-general alluded to, c. w. ii. 14

Catholics, Roman, proclamations against, i. 36 ; Commons, jealous of, i. 95 ; accused of fomenting discord between the King and Queen, i. 121; the Queen vows to educate her children in the Roman faith, i. 123 ; Romish intrigues, i. 124 ; resort to the Queen's Chapel at St. James, *ib.* ; intrigues with the Queen, i. 125, 126 ; jealousy of Parliament of, i. 177 ; Jesuit College established at Edmonton, *ib.* ; ten Jesuit professors committed to Newgate, i. 180; Dr. Neale reprobated by Commons for patronising Catholics, *ib.* ; Father Philip's letter intercepted, ii. 282 ; jealousy against, *ib.* ; proposal for their extermination, ii. 283 ; forfeiture of their estates, ii. 284 ; popish intrigues, ii. 297 ; Irish papists in arms, ii. 302 ; search for priests and arms in Claro, ii. 377

Cavalier and Roundhead, origin of the term of, ii. 185

Cavendish, Lady Anne, witty reply of, to Laud, i. 337

Cavendysshe, the Ladies, to Lord F. Fairfax, thanks for protection, c. w. i. 195

Cawood Castle, taken by Captain Hotham, ii. 415

Chalcedon, Bishop of, concealment of, i. 121

Chaloner, James, to Ursula Fairfax, urging his suit, vol. i. LXXVI. ; alluding to repayment of a loan, vol. i. LXXVIII. ; author of "History of the Isle of Man," vol. i. LXXIX. ; letter to Lord Ferdinando Fairfax, self-denying ordinance, c. w. i. 156 ; Archbishop of Canterbury beheaded, *ib.* ; Sir T. Fairfax, militia refuse to march, c. w. i. 162 ; anticipated invasion, c. w. i. 163 ; loss of Shrewsbury and Gloucester, c. w. i. 164 ; difficulties of the King, *ib.* ; death of, in 1661, vol. i. LXXX

Chaloner, William, one of Commissioners to try Charles I., vol. i. LXXIX. ; withdraws to Holland, and dies at Middleburgh, vol. i. LXXX

Chambers, Richard, summoned before the Council, i. 172 ; fined, i. 173 ; conduct before the Court of Star Chamber, *ib.* *note* ; Rushworth imprisoned in the Fleet, i. 174, *note* ; death of Chambers, noticed in Rushworth.

Charles the First, accession of, i. 4 ; dissolves Parliament, *ib.* ; general election, i. 5 ; dissolves Parliament, i. 20 ; attempts to raise supplies, i. 22 ; pecuniary embarrassments of, i. 23 ; compelled to re-assemble Parliament, *ib.* ; demands supplies from Parliament, i. 25 ; at issue with the Commons, i. 29—33 ; nominates seven sheriffs, i. 34 ; proclamation of, against Papacy and Arminianism, i. 36 ; coronation of, i. 37 ; Parliament re-assembles, peremptory message of the King, i. 38 ; anger of, at the impeachment of Buckingham, i. 40; summons both Houses to Whitehall, *ib.* ; his severity to the Commons, i. 41 ; interferes at the impeachment of Buckingham, i. 50 ; endeavours to indict the Earl of Bristol, i. 51 ; imprisons the Earl of Arundel, i. 52 ; collision with the Lords, *ib.* ; dissolves Parliament, i. 53 ; remonstrance of the Commons to, i. 54 ; re-imprisons the Earl of Arundel, *ib.* ; commits the Earl of Bristol to the Tower, *ib.* ; applies to the clergy for aid,

i. 66 ; arbitrary proceedings of, i. 70, 71 ; forced loans of, i. 73 ; curtails his expenses, i. 75 ; promises pay to the seamen, i. 83 ; applies to Sir Robert Cotton for advice, i. 85 ; re-assembles Parliament, i. 87—92 ; restores the loan recusants to liberty, i. 88 ; at Newmarket, i. 89 ; unconciliating speech of, to Parliament, i. 92 ; his remark upon a petition for a general fast, i. 95 ; billets soldiers, i. 95 ; encourages Catholics, i. 96 ; urges a vote of supply, i. 97 ; his opinion of Parliaments, i. 98 ; interview with Sir John Cooke, *ib.* ; anxious for the payment of subsidies, i. 99 ; calls both Houses together on the "Petition of Right Bill," i. 100 ; endeavours to evade the Bill, i. 102 ; special answer of, to the petition, *ib.* ; influenced by Buckingham, i. 103 ; assents to the Bill, i. 105 ; endeavours to recover his power, i. 105 ; tries to raise money, i. 106 ; prorogues Parliament, i. 106, 107 ; orders Petition of Right to be reprinted, i. 110 ; patronage of, to Drs. Mainwaring and Montague, i. 114 ; a Protestant, *ib.* ; marries Henrietta Maria, i. 116 ; awaits the arrival of the Queen at Canterbury, *ib.* ; dismisses the Queen's French attendants, i. 117 ; his letter to the Duke of Buckingham thereon, i. 119 ; his letter to Buckingham in Paris, i. 121 ; letter to the King of France, i. 122 ; tampers with the leaders of the Commons, i. 126 ; at Portsmouth, i. 141 ; his grief at the death of Buckingham, i. 147 ; wishes Felton to be tortured, i. 148 ; appoints Laud his prime adviser, i. 151 ; prorogues Parliament, i. 154 ; declares his disappointment of Parliament, *ib.* ; urges on Tonnage and Poundage Bill, i. 155 ; Parliament re-assembles, i. 170 ; directs Tonnage and Poundage Act to be prepared, i. 171 ; summons both Houses before him, i. 174 ; conciliatory address of, i. 175 ; reprieves the Jesuit priests, i. 178 ; commands the Commons to adjourn for a week, i. 181 ; sends for the Speaker's mace, i. 186 ; denied admittance to the Commons, *ib.* ; sends for a guard to force the door, *ib.* ; dissolves Parliament, *ib.* ; arrests Sir John Eliot, John Selden and others, i. 189 ; removes Selden and the other prisoners privately, i. 197 ; conduct of the Court, i. 198 ; warning of Parliament to, i. 199 ; answer of, to Sir John Eliot's petition, i. 205, 206 ; forbids the proposal of a Parliament, i. 209 ; makes peace with France and Spain, *ib.* ; instructions to subsidy commissioners, i. 210 ; levies knighthood money, i. 212 ; revives the forest laws, i. 213 ; soap monopoly, i. 218 ; levies ship money, i. 219 ; his first writ, i. 220 ; endeavours to win Hampden, i. 223 ; his visit to Scotland, i. 243 ; promotes the Earl of Newcastle, *ib.* ; delays his visit to Scotland, i. 270 ; sends for the Scotch regalia, i. 271 ; ominous message to, *ib.* ; resolves to be crowned in Edinburgh, i. 272 ; progress of, to Scotland, i. 275 ; touches "divers" for the Evil, i. 282 ; entertained by the Duke of Newcastle, i. 283 ; crosses the Border, i. 284 ; crowned at Holyrood, i. 285 ; assembles the Scotch Parliament, i. 286 ; interferes with the vestments of the clergy, i. 287 ; checks the voters in the House, i. 288 ; his conduct on the Kirkmen's Apparel Act, i. 289 ; pardons Lord Balmerino, i. 291 ; leaves Scotland, i. 292 ; aware of Scotch hatred to Episcopacy, i. 323 ; proclaims a new liturgy, i. 326 ; resolves on war with Scotland, i. 343 ; departs for Scotland, i. 345 ; Sir T. Widdrington's address to, i. 346 ; poem to, i. 348 ; misled by his courtiers, i. 350—352 ; dispatches Sir W. Pennyman to Berwick, i. 352 ; address of the gentlemen of Yorkshire to, i. 353 ; his want of money, i. 355 ; military movements of, i. 357—359 ; proclaims war at Newcastle, i. 361 ; arrives at Berwick, i. 367 ; hastily concludes a peace, i. 370—384 ; sends for the Marquis of Hamilton, i. 377 ; returns to London, i. 389 ; breaks faith with Scotch Parliament, i. 389, 390 ; endeavours to justify his conduct, i. 392 ; summons Strafford to London, i. 396 ; assembles Parliament, *ib.* ; summons the Commons to Whitehall, i. 398 ; demands supplies, i. 399 ; dissolves Parliament, i. 401 ; wishes its recall, i. 402 ; imprisons several members of Parliament, i. 405 ; levies ship money, ii. 2 ; seizes the bullion in the Tower, *ib.* ; favours the Church party, ii. 5 ; mutiny of his army, ii. 7 ; summons a Council of Peers at York, ii. 17—19 ; raises 200,000*l.*, ii. 19 ; treaty of Ripon, humiliating to, ii. 25 ; chooses Lenthall Speaker, ii. 30 ; opens Parliament, ii. 31 ; conciliatory address of, ii. 32 ; assents to the Triennial Act, ii. 43 ; commands Strafford's appearance in London, ii. 44 ; attends Strafford's trial, ii. 60 ; address of, to the Peers on behalf of Strafford, ii. 92 ; private interview of, with Mr.

Hyde, ii. 118; his endeavours to save Strafford, *ib.*; implicated in Goring's plot, ii. 122, 124; assembles his Privy Council, ii. 126; his scruples against Strafford's attainder, *ib.*; Dr. Juxon's warning to, ii. 127; Strafford's letter to, ii. 129; signs Strafford's attainder by commission, ii. 132; forsaken by his ministers, ii. 134; his extreme sorrow, *ib.*; his weak attempts to save Strafford, ii. 137; writes to the Peers, ii. 138; mean postscript, ii. 139; his letter to Strafford, ii. 143; summons both Houses to Whitehall on ecclesiastical affairs, ii. 182; communicates the bishops' petition to Parliament, ii. 187; recapitulates his reforms, ii. 195; proposes to visit Scotland, ii. 197, 256; petitioned by Commons to delay his journey, ii. 199; encroachments of Parliament on the King's prerogative, ii. 232, 233; his reasons for visiting Scotland, ii. 237, 238; his intrigue with the Covenanters, ii. 239; gives a private warrant to Marquis of Hamilton to converse with Covenanters, ii. 240; endeavours to win over Scotch commissioners, ii. 241—245; proposal of "the Plotters" to, ii. 249; letter of, to the Earl of Argyle, ii. 250; leaves London for Edinburgh, ii. 253; intrigues with the Army, ii. 255; arrives in Edinburgh, *ib.*; general mistrust of the King, ii. 256; passes Act of Oblivion, *ib.*; abolishes Episcopacy, *ib.*; outrage of "the Incident" communicated to, ii. 257; chiefs of Covenanters promoted by, ii. 258; their ingratitude to, ii. 260; leaves Edinburgh, *ib.*; confers knighthood at York, ii. 269; his endeavours to establish a Scotch party known to Parliament, ii. 281; change in the King's manner to Parliament, ii. 301; City of London favourable to, ii. 303; his entry into London, ii. 304; refuses a guard to Parliament, ii. 306; the "Remonstrance" of Commons presented to, ii. 311; his three advisers, ii. 312; prepares an answer to the "Remonstrance," ii. 314; summons both Houses to a conference, ii. 316; commits a breach of Parliamentary privilege, ii. 317; attempts to seize five members of the Commons, ii. 324—328; offers to make reparation, ii. 330; deserted by the City, ii. 335; unadvised speech of, towards the seamen, ii. 336; leaves Whitehall, ii. 337, c. w. i. 3; arrives at Windsor, ii. 340; offers the "Seals" to Selden, ii. 341; accompanies the Queen to Dover, ii. 351; excludes the bishops from Parliament, ii. 352; refuses to surrender his control over militia, ii. 353, 380; returns to Theobald's, ii. 354; Parliament threatens to act without the consent of, ii. 355; declaration of Commons presented to, at Newmarket, ii. 356, c. w. i. 4; refuses to return to London, ii. 359; warns the people not to obey the Parliament, ii. 360; petition from Yorkshire to, ii. 362, 367; prepares for war, ii. 385; endeavours to obtain arms from Holland, ii. 386; removes the Prince of Wales to Greenwich, *ib.*; his interview with Mr. Hyde thereon, ii. 387; proposes to visit Ireland, ii. 388; arrives at York, ii. 389; General Ruthven and Colonel King's visit to, ii. 391; answers the declaration of Parliament, ii. 393; Parliament petition to, for removal of great officers of state, ii. 396; his refusal of, ii. 398; appears before Hull with three hundred horse, *ib.*, c. w. i. 12; shut out at Beverley Gate, c. w. i. 12; meets the Parliament Committee at York, ii. 399; summons freeholders at Heyworth Moor, ii. 406; Sir Thos. Fairfax forces a petition on, vol. i. xcv. ii. 407; issues proclamation for arms, ii. 409; levies money in Yorkshire, ii. 413; nobles at York swear allegiance to, c. w. i. 15; issues the "Commission of Array," c. w. i. 16; sets up his standard at Nottingham, c. w. i. 19; prorogues his Parliament at Oxford, c. w. i. 102; escapes from Oxford, c. w. i. 104; Sir William Waller pursues, c. w. i. 106; destroys the bridge at Evesham, *ib.*; receives intelligence of battle of Marston Moor, c. w. i. 110; hopes of the King on the moderate party, c. w. i. 155; his difficult position, c. w. i. 164; at Oxford, c. w. i. 155; his junction with Prince Rupert, c. w. i. 217; military movements of, c. w. i. 229; routed at Naseby by Sir T. Fairfax, c. w. i. 233; valour of the King, *ib.*; flies to Leicester, c. w. i. 234; retreats to Wales, *ib.*; view of his position after battle of Naseby, c. w. i. 254, 269; negociates with Parliament for peace, c. w. i. 270; faithless conduct of, c. w. i. 286; flight of, from Oxford, c. w. i. 296; reaches Newark, c. w. i. 297; delivered up to Parliament by the Scotch, c. w. i. 327; meets Sir T. Fairfax at Nottingham, c. w. i. 331; at Holmby, c. w. i. 350; seized by Cornet Joyce, c. w. i. 351; at Newmarket, c. w. i. 353; guarded by

Colonel Whaley to Richmond, c.w. i. 358; removed to Reading, c. w. i. 364, 365; at Hampton Court, c. w. i. 391; touches "divers" for Evil, c. w. i. 392; again rejects overtures from Parliament, c. w. i. 393; rumoured attempt on his life, c. w. i. 397; escapes from Hampton Court, *ib.*; surrenders to Colonel Hammond, Governor of Carisbrook Castle, c. w. i. 399; attempts another treaty with Parliament, c. w. i. 402; attempted rescue of at Carisbrook, c. w. i. 403; Parliament declares it treason to communicate with the King, c. w. ii. 3; attempts to escape from Carisbrook Castle, c. w. ii. 16—18; state of England during his imprisonment, c. w. ii. 20, 21; holds a court at Newport, c. w. ii. 74; Lilly's prediction verified, c. w. ii. 75; seized by the army and conveyed to Hurst Castle, c. w. ii. 76; accused of high treason, c. w. ii. 77; Commons appoint commissioners to try the King, c. w. ii. 82

Charles the Second. *See* Wales, Prince of

Chester, siege of, c. w. i. 218

Cheveaux, Duke de, proxy for Charles II., on his marriage with Henrietta Maria of France, i. 116

Chichester, Sir Arthur, one of Lord Fairfax's council of war, c. w. i. 39

Chidley, Captain, alluded to in a letter from Mr. Stockdale respecting billet money, ii. 101

Cholmeley, Mary, letter to Mr. Henry Fairfax relating to her jointure, i. 62; letter to her husband, i. 64; her epitaph, i. 66

Cholmeley, Colonel, to Lord Ferd. Fairfax, the Lady Musgrave's protection, c. w. i. 205

Cholmeley, Sir Richard, fined in Star Chamber Court, i. 227

Cholmeley, Captain, taken prisoner at Sherborne, c. w. i. 254

Church of Scotland. Conduct of Laud to Dr. Lindsey, i. 285; Apparel of Kirkmen Act obnoxious to Scots people, i. 287; Lord Balmerino's petition, i. 289; its repugnance to Episcopacy known to Charles I., i. 323—325; Court of High Commission established, i. 326; Laud's attempt at religious uniformity, *ib.*; Baillie's Letter, i. 327; Bishop Juxon's letter, i. 328; liturgy published, i. 329; Laud's letter to Earl of Traquair thereon, *ib.*; Church riots at Edinburgh, i. 330—332; village festivals condemned, i. 333; the Covenant drawn up, i. 343. *See* Covenanters.

Civil War, renewal of, in Scotland, c. w. ii. 129

Clanricarde, Marquis of, Royalist leader in Ireland, c. w. ii. 123

Clare, Lord, inquiry of, for Bishop of London, i. 94; letter to Lord F. Fairfax, Council of Peers at York, ii. 18; negociates a loan for Charles I., ii. 19; Derbyshire regiments, c. w. i. 136

Clarendon, Earl of, *see* Hyde, Edward

Clarendon, Henry, Earl of, *see* Cornbury, Lord

Clarendon, the Countess, to Mr. John Evelyn, on Horticulture, c. w. ii. 333

Claverin, Mr., taken prisoner at Sherborne, c. w. i. 255

Clayton, Colonel, taken prisoner at Sherborne, c. w. i. 254

Clayton, R., Mr., to Lady Fairfax, sale of Fairfax estates, c. w. ii. 241; particulars of death of Lord Fairfax, c. w. ii. 242

Clergis, Dr., employed by General Monk to negociate with Lord Fairfax against General Lambert's army, c. w. ii. 152

Clifford, Lord, to Sir Thomas Fairfax at Denton, death of his two sons, vol. i. xlviii.; bantering note of, vol. i. lxvii.; King of Sweden's army, i. 242; visit of Charles I. to Scotland, i. 279; death of, i. 369, *note*

Clint, Colonel, one of Lord Fairfax's council of war, c. w. i. 39

Clotworthy, Sir John, Member for Malden, c. w. i. 352; denounced by Parliamentary army, c. w. i. 356

Club-risers, origin of, c. w. i. 237; attack Sir F. Fairfax, c. w. i. 238; suppressed by Cromwell, c. w. i. 244, 245

Clytheroe, Alderman, elected knight by citizens of London, i. 89

Coat and Conduct Money, resistance to, ii. 2

Cobbett's State Trials, ii. 129, *note*

Cockell, Mr., alluded to, as representative of Knaresborough, ii. 376

Coke, Sir Edward, pricked for sheriff by Charles I., i. 34; objects to sheriff's oath, i. 35; elected for Norfolk, *ib.*; returned contrary to precept, *ib.*; *note, ib.*; denounces Duke of Buckingham, i. 104

Colchester, siege of, c. w. ii. 41—46; appearance of, after siege, c. w. ii. 46; riots at, c. w. ii. 21

Coleman, Mr., to Father la Chaise, "the Popish Plot," c. w. ii. 288

Colville, Lord, his conduct in reference to the Fairfax peerage, i. 15

Colville, Mr. Alexander, alluded to in Sir Lord Waristoun's letter, ii. 242

Commission, High Court of, established,

Rev. Mr. Snelling fined, i. 333 ; Book of Sports, i, 334 ; abolished, ii. 194

Commissioners for raising the subsidy, copy of instructions from, to Lord Fairfax, i. 210 ; Commissioners' names, *ib.*, *note*

Commissioners, Scotch, visit London, i. 392 ; fail in their object, *ib.* ; continued appeal of, *ib.*

Committee of Safety, address of, to gentlemen of Yorkshire, c. w. i. 21 ; address of, to Lord Fairfax, c. w. i. 22 ; reinforces Lord Fairfax, c. w. i. 23, 42, 43; re-empowered, c. w. ii. 3

Condé, Prince de, at Peronne, c w. ii. 19 ; gains battle of Lens, c. w. ii. 67 ; military movements of, c. w. ii. 70

Constable, Sir William, to Sir F. Fairfax, proceedings before Privy Council, i. 68 ; union of Sir Thomas Fairfax and Lady Vere, i. 295—297, 302 ; elected for Knaresborough, ii., 261, *note* ; disputed return of, ii. 262—269; disbanding Parliament army, c. w. i. 347

Constable, Lady, to Lord F. Fairfax, riot of apprentices, c. w. i. 378

Conway, Lord, observations of, to Lord Wentworth on ship money, i. 219; commands the army at Newcastle, ii. 10 ; his inability, *ib.*

Conyers, Sir John, billeting soldiers, ii. 210 ; 211, *note*

Cook, Colonel, movements of, in the west, c. w. i. 283

Cooke, Sir John, interview with the King, i. 97 ; Rushworth alluded to, *ib.*, *note*

Cooke, Sir Francis, alluded to by Sir G. Wentworth, i. 8

Cooke, Lady, alluded to in a letter to Lord Fairfax, as desirous for a pass, c. w. i. 187

Coote, Sir Charles, barbarous act of, c. w. ii. 123 ; application of, for supplies for army, c. w. ii. 124

Copley, Colonel, alluded to respecting surrender of Sheffield castle, c. w. i. 113 ; to Sir Thomas Fairfax, military movements, c. w. i. 82 ; defeats Lord Digby, c. w. i. 253

Copley, Mr. David, contests Pontefract, c. w. i. 318

Corbet, Sir John, imprisoned, i. 70 ; a loan recusant, *ib.*, *note* ; one of committee to present "Remonstrance" to the King, ii. 311

Coriton, William, imprisoned in the King's Bench, i. 191 ; solitary confinement of, i. 199

Cork, Earl of, record of his remarkable career, i. 129

Cork, Lady, alluded to by Mr. Charles Fairfax on professional business, c. w. i. 305—307

Cornbury, Lord, to Wm. Lowndes, Esq., for pecuniary aid, c. w. ii. 310 ; to Mr. Evelyn, court gossip, c. w. ii. 323 ; the plague, c. w. ii. 325 ; on various subjects, c. w. ii. 327 ; on Miss Evelyn's death, c. w. ii. 338 ; thanking him for bail, c. w. ii. 339, 340 ; thanking him for book of medals, c. w. ii. 347

Cosins, Dr. John, Dean of Peterborough, public accusation against, i. 179 ; to Mr. Evelyn, his son's reasons for conversion to Catholic faith, c. w. ii. 313; sale of books, c. w. ii. 318

Cottington, Lord, purchases pepper for the King, ii. 2 ; at siege of Wells, c. w. i. 17

Cotton, Sir Robert, advice of, to Charles I., i. 85 ; his advice to Buckingham, i. 98 ; information in Star Chamber against, i. 206 ; death, i. 207, *note*

Council, Privy, act of, commanding use of Book of Common Prayer, i. 326

Courtney, Sir G., killed in the expedition to Isle of Rhé, i. 80

Covenanters, the, covenant drawn up by Henderson and Johnson, i. 343 ; 20,000 meet Marquis of Hamilton at Edinburgh, *ib.* ; motto of, i. 344 ; assemble at Berwick, i. 361 ; defeat the Lord Holland, i. 375 ; described by Baillie, i. 377 ; open negociations with Charles I., i. 384 ; conference of deputies with the King, i. 385 ; peace signed, i. 386 ; leaders of, summoned to Berwick, i. 389 ; defection of Montrose, *ib.* ; insincerity of the King towards, i. 391 ; apply to France for aid, i. 394 ; letter intercepted, *ib.* ; Scotch commissioners imprisoned, i. 395 ; march from Edinburgh, ii. 9 ; encamp at Dunse, *ib.* ; advance on Newcastle, ii. 10 ; sortie of Berwick garrison, *ib.* ; their camp described by Rushworth, *ib.* ; battle of Newbourn, ii. 12 ; General Leslie takes Newcastle, ii. 13 ; levy contributions, ii. 14 ; curious letter of John Lesly, ii. 15 ; petition the King for redress, *ib.* ; treaty opened with, ii. 21 ; meet the English commissioners at Ripon, ii. 22 ; skirmish on the Tees, ii. 24 ; treaty of Ripon, ii. 25 ; four English counties ceded as security to, ii. 26 ; cessation of hostilities, *ib.* ; intrigues of the King with, ii. 239, 240 ; Lord Waristoun's interview with Charles, ii. 241 ; letter of Principal Baillie, ii. 245 ; Montrose's ambiguous letter, ii. 246 ; conduct of the King towards, ii. 256 ; outrage of "the Incident," ii. 257 ; the King promotes chiefs of Covenanters, ii. 258 ; their ingratitude, ii. 260

Coventry, Sir Thomas, appointed Lord Keeper, i. 23 ; Campbell's "Lives of Chancellors" quoted, *ib.*, *note*

Coventry, Colonel, a hostage for the surrender of Exeter, c. w. i. 290

Crathorne, Major, taken prisoner at Sherborne, c. w. i. 254

Craven, Sir William, marries Lady Elizabeth Fairfax, vol. i. LXXV

Craven, Lord, Charles I. removed to his lordship's house at Cavesham, c. w. i. 364

Crawford, Lord, at battle of Newbourn, ii. 12 ; suspected of plotting to seize the Dukes of Hamilton and Argyle, ii. 282

Crawley, Mr. Justice, censured by Parliament, ii. 42

Crewe, Sir Randolph, displaced by Duke of Buckingham, i. 71 ; Commons petition the King in favour of, ii. 178 ; death of, *ib.*, *note*

Crewe, John, examined before Privy Council, i. 405 ; committed to prison, *ib.* ; his firmness, *ib.*

Crofts, Captain, alluded to respecting billet money, ii. 115

Crofts, Mr. William, Parliament demands his removal from court, ii. 397.

Cromwell, Oliver, description of, by Sir P. Warwick, i. 181 ; embarks as an emigrant, i. 342 ; Mr. Hyde's opinion of, ii. 34 ; his maiden speech, ii. 35 ; his reply to Lord Falkland on "Remonstrance" debate, ii. 309, 310 ; letter to bachelors and maids of Huntingdon, c. w. i. 56 ; defeats the Royalists at Gainsborough, c. w. i. 57 ; letter of, to Commissioners at Cambridge, c. w. i. 58 ; his horse killed at Winceby fight, c.w. i. 64 ; commands Horse at Marston Moor, c. w. i. 112 ; accuses Earl of Manchester of disinclination to fight, c. w. i. 114 ; energy of, c. w. i. 116 ; Parliament exempts him from Self-denying Ordinance, ii. 174 ; routs the King's Horse at Islop Bridge, c. w. i. 216 ; takes Blechington House, *ib.* ; appointed Lieutenant-General of Cavalry by Sir Thomas Fairfax, c. w. i. 230 ; his charge at Naseby, c.w. i. 232 ; suppresses Club-risers, c. w. i. 244, 245 ; surprises Lord Wentworth at Bovey Tracey, c. w. i. 274 ; takes 400 Horse and 7 colours, c. w. i. 75 ; informs Commons of escape of the King, c. w. i. 397 ; letter to Col. Hammond, the King's attempt to escape from Carisbrook, c. w. ii. 16 ; commands 8000 men in Wales, c. w. ii. 22 ; defeats Royalists at Preston, c. w. ii. 60 ; arrives in London, c. w. ii. 77 ; movement of, in Ireland, c. w. ii. 92—98 ; a mediator, c. w. ii. 107 ; at Duncannon, c. w. ii. 108—110 ; arrives in England, c. w. ii. 117 ; defeats the Scotch, invests Edinburgh, c. w. ii. 129 ; defeats Royalists at Worcester, c. w. ii. 130 ; conduct of, toward General Lord Fairfax, vol. i. CVI. ; death of, c. w. ii. 146; position of parties after his death, c. w. ii. 175

Cromwell, Richard, succeeds to the government, c. w. ii. 146 ; assents to formation of council of officers, c. w. ii. 147 ; abdication of, its consequences, c. w. ii. 184

Crook, Major, deputy-governor of Pontefract under Sir T. Fairfax, c. w. i. 245

Crosland, Colonel, defends Helmsley Castle, c. w. i. 120; terms of capitulation, c. w. i. 121

Crowther, Dr., deposition of, concerning marriage of Anne Hyde and Duke of York, c. w. ii. 271

Culpepper, Lord, family alliance with Fairfax family, vol i. CXXVI

Culpepper, Lieut.-Colonel, death of, ii. 7

Culpepper, Sir John, on monopolies, i. 395 ; advises Charles I. to exclude bishops from Parliament, ii. 352

Cumberland, Earl of, alluded to by Sir T. Wentworth, Yorkshire election, i. 9

Curson, Sir John, alluded to, raising of Derbyshire regiment, c. w. i, 136

Curtyre, Sir William, fined 360*l.* ship money, i. 221

Cuttcale, Sir Thomas, fined 300*l.* ship money, i. 221

Cypher-writing, c. w. ii. 95—97, 101

DALKEITH, Earl of, one of Lord Fairfax's council of war, c. w. i. 39

Danby, Earl, to Lord Fairfax, "the Popish Plot," c. w. ii. 294, 295

Danish Ambassador, arrival of, ii. 48

Darcie, Sir Francis, returned for Middlesex, i. 89

Darcy, Thomas, to Lord F. Fairfax ; responsibilities of spies, c. w. i. 175

Darnton, skirmish at, ii. 418

Darrel, Sir Thomas, imprisoned, a loan recusant, i. 70

Davenant, Mr. William, implicated in Goring's plot, ii. 118

Davenport, Chief Baron, censured by Parliament, ii. 42
Davies, Lady, foretells death of Duke of Buckingham, i. 140
Day, Mr. Francis, alluded to as collector of subsidies in Claro, ii. 110
De Garde, ——, to Sir R. Browne, on various matters, c. w. ii./72
Denbigh, Earl of, to Sir Thomas Fairfax, battle of Newark, c. w. i. 78 ; resigns his command, c. w. i. 174
Derby, Earl of, valour of, at Bolton, c. w. i. 92 ; his answer to Ireton, c. w. i. 93 ; taken prisoner at Worcester, *ib.* ; execution of, *ib.*
Derby, Countess of, her defence of Lathom House, c. w. i. 85 ; Sir Thomas Fairfax letter to, *ib.* ; reply of, c. w. i. 86 ; her indomitable courage, c. w. i. 87 ; reply of, to Col. Rigby, c. w. i. 88 ; her fidelity to the Royal cause, c. w. i. 93
Derelove, William, misdemeanours of, at Knaresboro' election, ii. 217, 260—269
Deering, Sir Edward, denounces Archbishop Laud, ii. 175 ; *ib., note*
D'Estrades, M., dispatched by Richelieu to London, to sue for neutrality on the part of England, i. 394
De Vic, Sir Harry, his attachment to Charles I., c. w. ii. 5 ; letters of, to Sir R. Browne on various matters, c. w. ii. 6 ; news from the Low Countries, c. w. ii. 13, 15 ; Knights of Golden Fleece installed at Brussels, c. w. ii. 14
Dewes, Sir Simon, one of committee to present "Remonstrance" to the King, ii. 311, *note*
Digby, Lord, alluded to in a letter from John Fairfax at Frankenthale, vol. i. XLIII. ; opposes bill against Strafford, ii. 82—84 ; advises the King to seize the five members, ii. 331 ; movements of, at Kingston, ii. 318, 342 ; his apology, *ib.* ; surprises Colonel Wren, c. w. i. 253 ; defeated by Colonel Copley, *ib.* ; escapes to Ireland, c. w. i. 255 ; enters French army, *ib.* ; Clarendon's advice to, c. w. i. 256 ; his ingratitude, *ib.* ; death of, c. w. i. 257 ; character of, c. w. i. 252
Digby, Sir Kenelm, embassy of, to Spain, i. 229 ; *ib., note*
Digby, Sir John, at battle of Newbourn, ii. 12
Digges, Sir Dudley, committed to the Tower, i. 50
Discourse for bridling the impertinence of Parliament, extracts from, i. 207
D'Israeli's Commentaries, ii. 142, *note*
Dodsworth, Roger, preservation of MSS. by Sir Thomas Fairfax, c. w. i. 301
Doncaster, Viscount, ambassador from Charles I. at Toulouse, vol. i. LI.
Donnington Castle, surrender of, c. w. i. 291
Dorset, Countess of, biographical sketch of, i. 263 ; spirited letter to Sir Joseph Williamson, i. 265 ; to Lord Fairfax at Denton, i. 266 ; to Mr. Charles Fairfax, i. 267
Dorset, Earl of, witty remark of, ii. 4
Douglas, Sir William, one of Scotch commissioners at treaty of Ripon, ii. 22 ; taken prisoner, ii. 24
Drake, Sir Francis, 200 stand of arms found in his house, c. w. i. 277
Dublin, action near, c. w. ii. 94—96
Duckenfield, Colonel, to Sir Thomas Fairfax, Governor of Chester, Parliamentary soldiers disbanded, arrears of pay, c. w. i. 80
Dudley, Sir Gamaliel, taken prisoner at battle of Maidstone, c. w. ii. 33
Dudley, Sir Robert, author of Discourse for bridling impertinence of Parliament, i. 206
Dumfermline, Earl of, one of Scotch commissioners at treaty of Ripon, ii. 22
Duncombe, Mr., alluded to as auditor of billet accounts, ii. 216
Dungarvan, Lord, one of commissioners from Parliament to meet Charles at York, ii. 392
Dungarvan Castle taken, c. w. i. 341
Dunne, Dr., dean of St. Paul's, death of, i. 229
Du Plessis, almoner to Queen Henrietta Maria, i. 117
Duppa, Dr., ii. 229, *note*
Dunsmore, Lord, one of English commissioners at treaty of Ripon, ii. 22
Dutch Ambassadors, advice of, to the Parliament, c. w. i. 165

EARL, Sir Walter, a loan recusant, i. 70 *note*
Eborcen, Tobias, Archbishop of York, to Sir Thomas Fairfax of Denton, trespass on Sir Thomas's land, vol. i. XXIX
Eden, John, Esq., one of committee of associated counties, c. w. i. 56
Edgehill, battle of, c. w. i. 33
Edgeworth, Colonel, one of Lord Fairfax's council of war, c. w. i. 39
Edmonds, Sir Thomas, endeavours to release the Speaker of the Commons from Mr. Holles, i. 184
Egerton, Sir Charles, alluded to in progress of treaty between Parliament and army, c. w. i. 368

Elector Palatine, Prince, at Strafford's trial, ii. 59

Eliot, Sir John, his speech against Duke of Buckingham, i. 47; committed to the Tower, i. 50; petitions Charles I., i. 71; restored to liberty by Privy Council, i. 88; his speech on Charles' message to Commons for five subsidies, i. 99; attacks Buckingham, i. 104; denounces Laud, i. 180; denounces the Lord Treasurer Weston, i. 183; summoned before Privy Council, i. 189; examination of, i. 190; committed to the Tower, i. 191; subpœnaed before Star Chamber Court, i. 193; solitary confinement of, i. 199; refuses to submit to terms of the Court, i. 204; its consequences, *ib.*; death of, i. 205; buried in the Tower chapel, i. 206; cruel reply of the King to his son, *ib.*

Election, general, in 1625, i. 5

Elections, Parliamentary, fiercely contested, ii. 29; Lord Ferdinando Fairfax returned for Yorkshire, ii. 29

Episcopacy abolished in Scotland, ii. 256

Episcopal property confiscated in Scotland, ii. 259

Epitaph on James I., by Edward Fairfax, i. 2; to the memory of William and John Fairfax, at Frankenthale, vol. i. xlix

Erby, Sir Anthony, one of Parliament commissioners to meet Charles at York, ii. 393

Erskine, Mr., referred to in respect of Fairfax peerage, vol. i. cxxxiv

Essex, Earl of, commands a division in Spinola's army, in Low Countries, vol. i. xli; appointed Lieutenant-General i. 357; enters Berwick, i. 358; appointed Lord Chamberlain, ii. 134, 358; refuses to attend upon the King, ii. 333; deputed by Parliament to prevent removal of Prince of Wales, ii. 387; joins Parliament forces, c. w. i. 37; Generalissimo, *ib.*; appoints Captain Hotham Lieutenant-General, *ib.*; appoints council of officers to assist Lord Fairfax, c. w. i. 38, 40; virtually superseded by Cromwell, c. w. i. 103; designs of Parliamentary generals concealed from, c. w. i. 104; ordered to watch the King, *ib.*; escape of Charles, c. w. i. 105; quarrels with Sir William Waller, c. w. i. 107; takes Weymouth, c. w. i. 110; resigns command of Parliamentary army, c. w. i. 174

Evelyn, John, marriage of, c. w. i. 101; possessed of Sayes Court, c. w. i. 102; to Mr. Jameson, c. w. ii. 332; to ——, indisposition of Mr. Pepys, c. w. ii. 350

Evelyn, Sir John, one of committee of safety, c. w. ii. 3

Evreux, Count de, invested with order of Golden Fleece, c. w. ii. 14, 15

Ewer, Mr., fined 2000*l.* ii. 36

Ewynes, Mr., appointed head collector of subsidies, ii. 205

Exeter surrendered, c. w. i. 289—291

Exeter, Earl of, letter to Sir Thomas Fairfax, relating to the expedition to Rhé, i. 78

Faber, Thomas, Esq., one of commissioners for raising subsidy granted to Charles I., i. 210

Fairfax, MSS. earliest date of, i. 1; family, origin of, vol. i. xiii; settles in Yorkshire, vol. i. xv

Fairfax, Richard, of Askham, vol. i. xvi

Fairfax, William, bailiff of York in 1249, vol. i. xvi

Fairfax, Sir Guy, judge of King's Bench in 1478, vol. i. xvi.; builds a castle at Steeton, *ib.*

Fairfax, Sir William, of Steeton, judge of Common Pleas, vol. i. xvi; remarkable will of, vol i. xvii

Fairfax, Sir William, of Denton, high-sheriff of York, vol. i. xvi.; disinherits his son for assisting at sacking of Rome, *ib.*; will of, vol. i. xvii

Fairfax, Sir Thomas, of Denton, knighted by Queen Elizabeth, vol. i. xix; issue of, *ib.*

Fairfax, Colonel Charles, killed at the siege of Ostend, vol. i. xix

Fairfax, Edward, translator of Tasso, vol. i. xix. i. 3; religious opinions of, *ib.*

Fairfax, Sir Thomas, (1st lord), marries Ellen, daughter of Robert Ark, Esq. vol. i. xx.; refuses title from King James, vol. i. xx.; knighted before Rouen, *ib.*; correspondence with Lord Sheffield, vol. i. xxi.; vice-president of the North, vol. i. xxii.; family alliance with Lord Sheffield, vol. i. xxiii; his instructions respecting Sir F. Fairfax's estate, vol. i. xxv.; attributes storms at sea to the devil, vol. i. xxviii; extravagance of his family, vol. i. xxxii.; letter of, to his son Henry, on his extravagance, vol. i. xxxii.; to his son Ferdinando, vol. i. xxxiii.; joins army in Low Countries, vol. i. xxxv.; returns to England, vol. i. xlii.; gallantry of his sons, vol. i. xliv.; death of his sons, vol. i. xlvi.; contests Yorkshire against Sir John Savile, vol. i. lix. i. 5—8; created a peer, vol. i. lxx. i. 12; statement of his services, *ib.*;

to Lord Colville in reference to his peerage, i. 15, 17 ; his second marriage, i, 57, 59 ; letter to lords in council on raising subsidies, i, 73 ; to Lord Wentworth, on armed forces in Yorkshire, i. 167; fined by Star Chamber Court, i. 227; summoned to Scotch parliament, i. 285 ; union of his grandson with Lady Anne Vere, i. 303—308 ; singular prophecy of, i. 314 ; letter of advice to his grandson, i. 356 ; note of, by Brian Fairfax, ii. 40 ; death of, ii. 41, *note* ; will of, ii. 425

Fairfax, Sir Ferdinando, (2nd lord), marries Lady Mary Sheffield, vol. i. xxiii. ; his interview with Hicks, on his brother's death, vol. i. lii. ; statement of his brother's death, vol. i. liii.; elected member for Boroughbridge, vol. i. lvi. i. 12, 23 ; issue of, by Lady Mary Sheffield, i. 28 ; returned for Yorkshire, i. 91 ; appointed Colonel of York Trained Bands, i. 349 ; marches to Newcastle, i. 362 ; ordered to Carlisle, i. 366; receives 500*l.* to pay regiment, i. 367, 370 ; in want of ammunition, i. 369 ; elected member for Yorkshire, ii. 30 ; proposes university at Manchester, ii. 180 ; commands a regiment of Trained Bands, ii. 252; General of West Riding of Yorkshire, ii. 416 ; attempted seizure of, c. w. i. 20 ; appointed commander of the Northern forces, c. w. i. 21 ; receives approbation of Parliament, c. w. i. 22 ; Hotham's troops placed under his command, c. w. i. 23 ; his dispatch to committee of safety, c. w. i. 25 ; receives thanks of Commons, c. w. i. 30 ; council of officers appointed to arrest him, c. w. i. 37, 40 ; difficulties of his position, c. w. i. 40 ; committee of safety promise supplies to, c. w. i. 41—43; defeated at Adderton Moor, vol. i. lxxiv. c. w. i. 49 ; falls back upon Hull, *ib.* ; made governor of Hull, c. w. i. 51 ; defeated at Pontefract by Sir M. Langdale, c. w. i. 184 ; liberality of, to Royalists, c. w. i. 193 ; second marriage of, c. w. i. 320 ; death of, c. w. ii. 16 ; will of, vol. i. lxxxix. *Correspondence of Sir F. Fairfax ;* letters to his father, vol. i. xxxiv. ; on public affairs, vol. i. lvii. ; Parliamentary gossip, i. 24 ; differences between King and Parliament, i, 29 ; on his father's second marriage, i. 59 ; Arminianism, Tonnage and Poundage, i. 155—157 ; precedence of foreign noblemen, i. 158 ; death of Lady Wentworth, i. 237 ; Wentworth's reproval, i. 245 ; on various matters, i. 255 ; death of a servant, i. 307 ; arrival of Charles I. at York, i. 351 ; entry of Essex into Berwick, i. 358 ; strength of the King's army, i. 359; the Scots at Berwick, i. 361; inclosing commission from president of the North, i. 363 ; on his march to Carlisle, i, 366 ; on receiving 500*l.* to pay his regiment, i. 366—370 ; on his want of ammunition, i. 369 ; bad state of his regiment, i. 372 ; letters from his father on pecuniary matters, vol. i. xxxiii.; accusing him of frustrating his second marriage, i. 57 ; on marriage of his son, Sir Thomas Fairfax, i. 303—304; letter to his brother Henry Fairfax, dispute of his father's will, arrest of Judge Berkeley, ii. 39—41; university at Manchester proposed, misconduct of bishops, ii. 180, 181; from Henry Fairfax, Manchester University, c.w. ii. 271; petition enclosed, *ib.*; letter from Mr. Webb, death of Peregrine Fairfax, vol. i. liv.; letters from Sir Wm. Constable, loan recusants, i. 68; marriage of Sir Thomas Fairfax, i. 296, 297, 302; Cromwell and Parliamentary army, c. w. i. 347.; from Lady Constable, riot of apprentices, c. w. i. 378 ; from Richard Hutton—King of Sweden; Lord Maltraver's marriage, i. 254 ; from his son, Sir Thomas Fairfax, on his marriage with Lady Vere, i. 301 ; the King's attempt to raise a body guard, c. w. i. 13 ; Leeds and Wakefield, c. w. i. 33 ; military movements of his son, c. w. i. 35; Captain Ratcliff's treachery, c. w. i. 44 ; siege of Oxford, c. w. i. 228; Goring's defeat at Langport, c. w. i. 235; storming of Bridgewater, c.w. i. 239, 240; suppression of Club-risers, c. w. i. 244 ; Sherborne taken, c. w. i. 247; Bristol besieged and taken, c.w. i. 248, 249; Lord Goring in Somerset, c. w. i. 251; Tiverton stormed, c. w. i. 257; military movements, c. w. i. 258; Ashburton retreat, c. w. i. 275; siege of Plymouth raised, c. w. i. 276; siege of Exeter, c. w. i. 282; military movements, c. w. i. 284; defeat of Lord Hopton, c. w. i. 285; disbanding of Hopton's army, c. w. i. 288 ; surrender of Exeter, c. w. i. 290, 291; extract from the King's letter to Parliament, c. w. i. 293; on general business, c. w. i. 294; surrender of Ragland Castle, c.w. i. 316, 317; army grievances, c. w. i. 322 ; propositions of Army to Parliament, c. w. i. 334; Sir Thomas ordered to join Army, c.w. i. 344; treaty between Parliament and Army, c. w. i. 371; from Lady Mary Vere, illness of Sir Thomas Fairfax, i. 309—320; from Charles Fairfax, levying subsidies, i. 403; billeting soldiers, ii. 200; rights of levy, c. w. i. 241; on various matters, c. w. i. 301; plague in Yorkshire, and domestic matters, c. w. i. 303—311; marriage of Mr. Jennings, c. w. i. 308—310; stewardship of Ripon, c. w. i. 313; on various subjects, c. w. i. 315; Pontefract election, c. w. i. 318; second marriage of Lord Fairfax, c. w. i. 321; from his son Charles Fairfax on public affairs, c. w. i. 31; from Lord Clare, council of peers at York, ii. 18; protection system, c. w. i. 136; from Mr. Stockdale, soldiers' billets, ii. 101; turbulence of soldiers, ii. 105; Strafford's trial, ii. 107; Knaresborough election, ii. 108, 217, 260—268, 292—295, 383; subsidies in Claro, ii. 110; murder of Captain Wythers, ii. 112; billet-money, ii. 114; triennial Parliaments, turbulence of military, ii. 202; subsidies, ii. 205; Lord Strafford, ii. 207; three regiments disbanded, ii. 208; the twelve bishops, *ib.*; billet-money arrangements, ii. 211; Hamilton's regiment disbanded, ii. 212, 213; death of Sir Henry Goodrick, ii. 214; disputed accounts, ii. 216; billet-money of Hamilton's regiment, ii. 218; ship-money, ii. 226; poll-money, ii. 228, 293, 349; recusants, ii. 229; rebellion in Ireland, ii. 230; disputed return of Sir Wm. Constable, ii. 260—268; departure of Charles I. from York, ii. 269; expense of Trained Bands, *ib.*; proposal for exterminating Catholics, ii. 283; forfeiture of Catholic estates, ii. 284; Catholics in Claro, ii. 286; pardon of Irish recusants, ii. 289; Henry Benson's house, resort of recusants, ii. 290; rumoured disaffection between King and Parliament, ii. 292; review of affairs, ii. 294; Ireland, billet-money, ii. 297; Lord Strafford's estate, ii. 321; escape of Mr. Benson, ii. 323, 348, 376; Yorkshire Trained Bands, ii. 344; Sir Thomas Fairfax in Yorkshire, ii. 348; Yorkshire petitions King and Parliament, ii. 362; the Protestation, *ib.*; search for priests and recusants, ii. 364, 377; Yorkshire petition misunderstood, ii. 373; superstitious picture riots, ii. 375; counter-petition proposed, ii. 378; commission to raise money for Ireland, ii. 379; *note, ib.*; differences between King and Parliament, ii. 380; protestation in Yorkshire, ii. 381; division of billet, ii. 382; anticipated petition to the King, ii. 390; reports about Hull, *ib.*; arrival of the King's press, *ib.*; Generals King and Ruthven meet the King at York, ii. 391; commissioners from Parliament at York, ii. 393; Yorkshire petitions Charles to return to Parliament, ii. 395; from Lady F. Lewenstein, return of Charles Fairfax to England, i. 321; Queen of Bohemia, ii. 196; from Sir William Fairfax, Ainstye petition, accepts command of a company, ii. 252, from Mr. Rushworth, siege of Wells; bearers of York petition committed to Black Rod, c. w. i. 17; sickness in Parliament army, c. w. i. 261; rumoured departure of Prince Rupert, c. w. i. 263; attack of Poldram house, c. w. i. 264; progress of war in West of England, c. w. i. 265—267; Sir William Selby and borough of Tiverton, c. w. i. 268, 273; progress of affairs at Dartmouth, c. w. i. 277, 278; movements of Parliamentary army, c.w. i. 281; operations at Exeter, c. w. i. 283; Parliamentary forces in Cornwall, c. w. i. 286; Hopton's army disbanded, c. w. i. 287; surrender of Exeter, c. w. i. 289—291; Parliament jealous of Scotch army, c. w. i. 295; on disbanding Parliamentary army, c. w. i. 343; seizure of the King, c. w. i. 353; intentions of army to Parliament, c. w. i. 356; army grievances, c. w. i. 357; treaty at Uxbridge between Parliament and army, c. w. i. 360—364; 369, 370; on various matters, c. w. i. 362; riot of apprentices, c.w.i. 379; from the Earl of Essex appointing council of officers to assist Sir Ferdinando, c. w. i. 37—40; from Lionel Copley, Captain Hotham appointed Lieutenant-General, c. w. i. 39; from Captain Hotham, military movements, c. w. i. 45; from Parliamentary Generals, their reasons for not joining him, c. w. i. 46; from the Speaker of the Commons, appointing him Governor of Hull, c. w. i. 49; from the Earl of Manchester, taking of Sheffield castle, c. w. i. 13; from Edward Howard, living of Wheldrake, c. w. i. 124—128; from Lord Willoughby, exchange of prisoners, c. w. i. 129; from Earl Mulgrave, on various matters, c. w. i. 131; for protection, c. w. i. 191; from Earl of Northumberland, for protection from military, c. w. i. 132; from John Wolstenholme, outrageous conduct of soldiers, c. w. i. 133; from Lord Morley, for protection and a pass, c. w. i. 137; from Edmund Sheffield on various subjects, c. w. i. 140; from Lord Wharton, elevation of Sir T. Fairfax to command of Army, c. w. i. 142, 143; Self-denying Ordinance, treaty of Uxbridge, c. w. i. 157; from James Chaloner, Self-denying Ordinance, c. w. i. 155; Sir T. Fairfax in the City militia; Shrewsbury and Gloucester taken, c. w. i. 162; from Sir Thomas Widdrington, treaty of Uxbridge, ordinance for a new model army, c. w. i. 159; Sir Thos. Fairfax, c. w. i. 161; on various subjects, c. w. i. 165; junction of Rupert with Royalists, c. w. i. 382; meeting at Skipton Castle, c. w. i. 135; disbanding Parliament army, c. w. i. 340; on various matters, c. w. i. 346; differences between Parliament and army, c. w. i. 365; riot of apprentices, c. w. i. 377; from Lord Fairfax, movements of Parliament forces, c. w. i. 166; from the Rev. Edward Bowles, illness of Sir Thomas Fairfax, c. w. i. 169; conduct of Parliament to army, c. w. i. 345; treaty between Parliament and army, c. w. i. 354; from Thomas Darcy, capture of suspected spies, c. w. i. 175; from Sir George Wentworth, thanking him for protection, c. w. i. 176; payment of composition, c. w. i. 298; from Sir John Savile, military movements in the North, c. w. i. 177—180; from Colonel Lowther, exchange of prisoners, c. w. i. 185; from William St. George, exchange of prisoners, c. w. i. 187; from R. Wyllis, Lady Cooke's pass, c. w. i. 187, 188; from John Atkins for a pass, c. w. i. 189; from Peter Du Moulin, for protection, c. w. i. 191; from the Ladies Cavendish, thanking him for protection, c. w. i. 195; from Katherine Middleton, interceding for her husband, c. w. i. 196; from the Ladies Middleton, for protection, c. w. i. 197; from Lady Osborne, for assistance, c. w. i. 198; from Lady Graham, for protection, c. w. i. 203; from Lady Musgrave, for protection, c. w. i. 207; from Colonel Hutchinson, military movements, c. w. i. 221; from Gervase Lomax, military rumours, c. w. i. 229; from Ferdinando Gorges, on various subjects, c. w. i. 299; from Sir John Bourchier, want of preachers, c. w. i. 337; from Mr. White, Dungarvan castle, Irish rebellion, c. w. i. 341; from Colonel Overton, disbanding Parliamentary army, c. w. i. 349

Fairfax, Sir Philip, marries Lady Frances Sheffield, vol. i. XXIII.; death of, vol. i. XXVII., *note*; his issue, *ib.*

Fairfax, Henry, enters the church, vol. i. LVIII. i. 62: marriage of, *ib.*; endeavours to establish a Northern University, ii. 271; biography of, i. 64

Fairfax, Mary, see CHOLMELEY, MARY

Fairfax, Charles, barrister of Lincoln's Inn, collects "Analecta Fairfaxiana," vol. i. LVII.; Colonel of foot under General Monk, vol. i. LIX.; curious prophecy of his father, vol. i. CVII. i. 314; to his father, wars in the Low Countries, i. 256, 318; to his brother Ferdinando, raising subsidies, i. 403; mutinous conduct of soldiers, ii. 200; rights of levy, c. w. i. 241; Lady Pembroke, Roger Dodsworth, c. w. i. 301; plague in Yorkshire, c. w. i. 303; on domestic affairs, c. w. i. 304—307; his daughter's marriage, c. w. i. 308—310; domestic affairs, c. w. i. 311; Lady Pembroke, c. w. i. 312; receives stewardship of Ripon, c. w. i. 313; domestic affairs of, c. w. i. 315; Pontefract election, c. w. i. 318; made governor of Hull, vol. i. LIX.; writes to his brother Lord Ferdinando on his second marriage, c. w. i. 321; pensioned by Charles II., vol. i. LIX.; death of, *ib.*

Fairfax, William, letter giving his coins to Selden, vol. i. XXXV.; writes his father's epitaph, vol. i. XXXVII.; killed at Frankenthale, vol. i. XLV

Fairfax, John, letter to his father, state of army in Holland, vol. i. XLII.; killed at Frankenthale, vol. i. XLV.; epitaph of, vol. i. XLIX

Fairfax, Peregrine, killed at Montaban, vol. i. LI.; statement of his death, vol. i. LIII

Fairfax, Thomas, killed in Turkey, vol. i. LI

Fairfax, Sir William, of Steeton, to Sir Thomas Fairfax of Denton, expedition to Rochelle, i. 142; Ainstye petition, accepts command of a company, ii. 252; commands at Leeds, c. w. i. 35; killed at Montgomery Castle, *ib.*, *note*

Fairfax, L—, to Lord Ferdinando Fairfax on various matters, c. w. i. 166

Fairfax, Sir Thomas (3rd Lord), born at Denton 1611, vol. i. XCIV. i. 61; educated at Cambridge, *ib.*; joins the army in the Low Countries, vol. i. XCV.; letter from, to Lord Fairfax, dated Lord Vere's camp, i. 161; returns to England, i. 162; writes to Lord Fairfax thereon, i. 163; marries Lady Anne Vere, vol. i. XCV.; letters relating to his marriage, i. 296, 297, 302, 305 ; writes to his father on his marriage, i. 301 ; to Lord Fairfax, i. 306 ; illness of, i. 309—312 ; extravagance of, i. 313 ; forebodings of Lord Fairfax, i. 314; writes to Lord Fairfax, Bishop of Lincoln fined, i. 337 ; commands a troop of Horse in Scotch war, vol. i. xcvi. i. 356 ; birth of his daughter Mary, i. 386 ; forces a petition on the King at Heyworth Moor, vol. i. xcvi. ii. 407 ; extract from his "Short Memorial," *ib.*; writes to his father, King's body-guard, c. w. i. 13 ; ordered to Leeds, c. w. i. 28 ; appointed General of Horse, vol. i. xcvi. c. w. i. 31 ; his impatience to raise the country, c. w. i. 33 ; battle of Bradford, vol. i. xcvi. c. w. i. 33 ; skirmish at Wetherby, vol. i. xcvi. ; his junction with Capt. Hotham, c. w. i. 34 ; takes Leeds, vol. i. xcvi. c. w. i. 35 ; letter to his father, *ib.* ; Wakefield and Doncaster surrender to, vol. i. xcviii. ; wounded at Sherborne, *ib.* ; reinforces Pomfret castle, c. w. i. 35 ; letter to his father, revolt of Capt. Ratcliff, c. w. i. 44 ; surrounded by the Earl of Newcastle at Bradford, vol. i. xcviii. c. w. i. 59 ; Lady Fairfax taken prisoner, vol. i. xcix. ; wounded, vol. i. xcix. c. w. i. 60 ; escapes to Hull, *ib.* ; return of Lady Fairfax, *ib.* ; letter from Lady F. Willoughby to, c. w. i. 61 ; joins the Earl of Manchester, c. w. i. 62 ; Winceby fight, *ib.* ; condition of his soldiers, c. w. i. 66 ; clothes 1500 men, c. w. i. 67 ; defeats Lord Byron in Lincolnshire, vol. i. xcix. ; routs Col. Bellasis at Ferrybridge, *ib.* ; appointed General of Cheshire, c. w. i. 67 ; marches for Nantwich, c. w. i. 68 ; Battle of Nantwich, c. w. i. 73, 74 ; resolutions of, to the gentlemen of Lancashire, c. w., i. 76 ; letters from Earl Denbigh to, progress of affairs, c. w. i. 78 ; from Col. R. Duckenfield to, state of the soldiers, c. w. i. 79 ; from Christopher Copley to, progress of affairs, c. w. i. 81 ; from Col. Joseph Bright to, military movements, c. w. i. 82 ; besieges Lathom House, c. w. i. 85 ; his letter to Lady Derby, *ib.* ; letter from Col. Lambert to, c. w. i. 94 ; defeats the King at Marston Moor, vol. i. c. c.w. i. 112 ; appointed Generalissimo, vol. i. c. c. w. i. 115, 157 ; letter from Lord Wharton to, thereon, c. w. i. 142 ; wounded at Helmsley Castle, c. w. i. 120 ; arrives in London, c. w. i. 160—162 ; Speaker of Commons waits upon, c. w. i. 161 ; nominates officers of new army, *ib.* ; receives thanks of Parliament, vol. i. ci. c. w. i. 162 ; officers of, accepted by Lords, c. w. i. 168; illness of, c.w. i. 169 ; remodels new army at Windsor, c. w. i. 173; commission from, to Algernon Sydney, *ib.*; petition from Colonel Alured's regiment to, c. w. i. 214 ; relieves Taunton, vol. i. ci. c. w. i. 217 ; his brilliant operations in the West, vol. i. ci. ; joins Cromwell, c. w. i. 217 ; Sir William Brereton's appeal to, for aid, c. w. 218 ; concentrates his army, c. w. i. 220 ; Oxford invested by, vol. i. ci. c. w. 225—227 ; letter to his father, c. w. i. 228 ; battle of Naseby, defeats the King, c. w. i. 231 ; writes to his father thereon, c. w. i. 235 ; defeats Lord Goring at Langport, vol. i. ci. c. w. i. 237 ; storms Bridgewater, vol. i. ci. c. w. i. 239 ; letter to his father thereon, c. w. i. 240 ; storms Bath, c. w. i. 244 ; letter to his father, progress of affairs, c. w. i. 245 ; Governor of Pontefract, *ib.* ; Sherborne taken, c. w. i., 246, 247; Bristol stormed, c. w. i. 247—249 ; letter to his father thereon, c. w. i. 249 ; military movements, c. w. i. 251 ; Tiverton stormed, c. w. i. 257 ; his military operations before Exeter, c. w. i. 258 ; negociates with Prince of Wales, c. w. i. 259; overtures from Lord Capel, c. w. i. 260 ; attacks Poldram House, c. w. i. 264 ; Ashburton retreat, its results, c. w. i. 275 ; Hugh Peters offers services to, c. w. i. 279 ; General Leslie to, siege of Carlisle, c. w. i. 180; Exeter again besieged by, c. w. i. 281, 282 ; defeats Lord Hopton at Torrington, c. w. i. 285 ; Hopton's army disbanded, c.w. i. 288 ; Exeter taken by, c.w. i. 289—291 ; substance of Charles' letter to Parliament, c. w. i. 293 ; termination of hostilities, c. w. i. 297 ; goes to Bath, *ib.* ; Ragland Castle, c. w. i. 316, 317 ; returns to Oxford, c. w. i. 317 ; arrives in London, c. w. i. 325 ; receives thanks of Parliament, c. w. i. 326 ; his private affairs neglected, c. w. i. 327 ; meets Charles I. at Nottingham, c. w. i. 331 ; writes to his father on army grievances, c. w. i. 332—334 ; his disinclination to interfere in religious matters, c. w. i. 336 ; perplexing position of, c. w. i. 343 ; ordered by Parliament to join the army, c.w. i. 344 ; Parliamentary army attached to, c. w. i. 360 ; Prince Elector, dines with, c. w. i. 366—368 ; voted by Parliament, General-in-chief, c. w. i. 370 ; letter to his father, treaty between Parliament and army, c. w. i.

371 ; the Speaker and 100 members take refuge in his camp, c. w. i. 384 ; re-establishes Parliament at Westminster, c. w. i. 385 ; made Constable of Tower, thanked by Parliament, *ib.* ; quarters troops in City to prosecute levy, c. w. i. 386 ; invited to Guildhall banquet, c. w. i. 389 ; Commons refuse to ratify acts of army during absence of Speakers, c. w. i. 389; calls a council of war, c. w. i. 390 ; articles between Charles I. and, c. w. i. 394 ; frustrates escape of Charles from Carisbrook, c. w. i. 402, 403 ; his adherence to Parliament, c. w. ii. 4 ; regulates personal attendance of the King, c. w. ii. 7 ; letter to Colonel Hammond thereon, *ib.* ; succeeds to title, c. w. ii. 16 ; petition of Colonel Rich's regiment to, c. w. ii. 25 ; battle of Maidstone, c. w. ii. 32 ; reduces Kent, c. w. ii. 36 ; summons Colchester, c. w. ii. 41 ; his proclamation to insurgents concealed, *ib.*; shoots proclamation into Colchester, c. w. ii. 44 ; takes Colchester, c. w. ii. 46 ; blamed for executing Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle, c. w. ii. 48; his exculpation, c. w. ii. 49; example of Colonel Windebank cited, c. w. ii. 50 ; his observation on Sir C. Lucas, c. w. ii. 51 ; refuses to treat with Sir C. Lucas for exchange of prisoners, c. w. ii. 56 ; justified in adopting sentence of court, c. w. ii. 59 ; suspends Colonel Hammond, c. w. ii. 75; seizes the King, c. w. ii. 76 ; marches on London, *ib.* ; his opinions of trial of Charles, c. w. ii. 83 ; difficulties of his position, c. w. ii. 84—86 ; resigns his command, c. w. ii. 87 ; not a statesman, *ib.*; remarks, *ib.*; his infirmities, c. w. ii. 132 ; treated with indignity by Cromwell, vol. i. cvi. c. w. ii. 138; declares for free Parliament and restoration of Monarchy, c. w. ii. 151, 169 ; raises forces in Yorkshire, c. w. ii. 164; defection of General Lambert's army in favour of, c. w. ii. 166 ; influence of, at Restoration, c. w. ii. 175 ; prime mover of Restoration, c. w. ii. 191 ; his interterview with Monk, c. w. ii. 168—192 ; a Counsellor of State, elected for York in Convention Parliament, c. w. ii. 213 ; one of commissioners appointed to invite Charles II. to England, c. w. ii. 171—217 ; asks pardon of the King, conduct of, contrasted with General Monk's, c. w. ii. 218 ; receives a pension of 5000*l.*; letters to the Duke of Buckingham giving advice, c. w. ii. 221; two unaddressed, vol. i. cxiv. ; his daughter's absence, c. w. ii. 223 ; vol. i. cxiv. death and epitaph, c. w. ii. 225; character, vol. i. cxv.

Fairfax, Lady, educated in Holland, i. 311 ; marries Sir Thomas Fairfax, vol. i. xcv. ; letters relating to her marriage, i. 296, 297 ; 302—305 ; taken prisoner, vol. i. xcix. ; conduct of, at Charles I.'s trial, vol. i. cv. c. w. ii. 83, 85

Fairfax, Charles, summoned to England by his father, Lord Ferdinando Fairfax, c. w. i. 31 ; killed at Marston Moor, *ib.*

Fairfax, Viscount of Emely, letter from Thomas Ibson, ravages of soldiery, c. w. i. 209

Fairfax, Lady Mary, marries Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, vol. i. cvi. ; to Lord Fairfax, for title deeds, c. w. ii. 256—265 ; opinion of counsel on her claims, c. w. ii. 268 ; death, c. w. ii. 188

Fairfax, Brian, narrative of interview between Lord Fairfax and General Monk, vol. i. cx. cxiii. ; undertakes expedition to General Monk's camp, c. w. ii. 151 ; his interview with General Monk, c. w. ii. 161 ; letters to Lord Henry Fairfax, c. w. ii. 235 ; to his nephew Lord Fairfax, racing news, c. w. ii. 236 ; to Charles Fairfax, c. w. ii. 238 ; death of Duchess of Buckingham, c. w. ii. 240 ; Yorkshire estates, c. w. ii. 237 ; Duchess of Buckingham's claims, c. w. ii. 257—259, 261—264 ; character of, vol. i. cxx. ; poetry of, vol. i. cxxi.

Fairfax, Rev. Henry, (4th Lord), returned for Yorkshire, vol. i. cxxv. ; letter to Lady Fairfax, c. w. 231—233 ; death of, vol. i. cxxv.

Fairfax, Thomas, (5th Lord), takes an active part in revolution of 1688, vol. i. cxxv. ; Lieutenant-Colonel of Guards, *ib.*; Brigadier-General in 1701, vol. i. cxxvi. ; marriage of, *ib.* ; succeeds to Leeds Castle and estates in America, *ib.*; death of, *ib.*

Fairfax, Lady, widow of fifth Lord Fairfax, sale of Fairfax estates, c. w. ii. 241 ; particulars of death of her husband, c. w. ii. 242 ; letter to her son, c. w. ii. 243

Fairfax, Thomas, (6th Lord), conduct of his guardians, vol. i. cxxvii. ; racing intelligence, c. w. ii. 193 ; visits his American estates, vol. i. cxxviii. ; conduct of Indians towards him, vol. i. cxxx. ; his behaviour to women, vol. i. cxxxi. ; death of, vol. i. cxxxiii.

Fairfax, William, marries the daughter of Major Walker—her singular request on her death-bed, vol. i. cxxxiii.

Fairfax, George William, marries the

daughter of Colonel Cary, vol. i. cxxxiii; death, vol. i. cxxxiv
Fairfax, Thomas, killed in an action in East Indies, vol. i. cxxxiv
Fairfax, Anne, marriage of, with Mr. Lawrence Washington, brother to General Washington, vol. i. cxxxv
Fairfax, Robert, Captain, to Lord Fairfax at Oxford, incumbrances on Yorkshire estates, c. w. ii. 245; Mr. Topham, c. w. ii. 196.
Fairfax, Robert, (7th Lord), bequeaths Leeds Castle to Rev. Denny Martin, vol. i. cxxxiii. William, issue of, *ib.*
Fairfax, Rev. Brian, (8th Lord), claims peerage, vol. i. cxxxiii.; letter to Earl Buchan thereon, vol. i. cxxxiv.; succeeds to the title, vol. i. cxxxvii.
Fairfax, Thomas, (9th Lord), death, vol. i. cxxxvii.
Fairfax, Snowden Charles, (10th Lord), concluding remark, vol. i. cxxxvii.
Falkland, Lord, observations of, on levy of ship money, i. 226
Fane, Sir Francis, alluded to in a letter from Lady Osborne to Lord Fairfax, c. w. i. 199
Fanshawe, Sir Simon, alluded to in exchange of prisoners between Lord Fairfax and Sir M. Langdale, c. w. 188
Farmer, George, locksmith at Bow, alluded to by Lilly, the astrologer, in his account of Charles.I.'s attempted escape from Carisbrook Castle, c. w. ii. 17
Fauconberge, Lord, to Lord Fairfax of Denton, on various subjects, i. 164; news from Tilly's army, i. 239; Charles I.'s visit to Scotland, i. 278
Favour, John, lines addressed to Sir T. Widdrington, vol. i. lxxx., lxxxiv.
Fayer, Sir Thomas, present at the assassination of the Duke of Buckingham, i. 144
Fell, Dr. John, Bishop of Oxford, to William G——l, c. w. ii. 352
Felton, John, narrative of, i. 142; assassinates the Duke of Buckingham, i. 143; his fearless conduct, i. 145; executed at Tyburn, i. 149
Felton, Mr., alluded to respecting marriage of Sir Thomas Fairfax, i. 300
Fenton, Catherine, second wife of the celebrated Lord Cork, i. 136
Fielding, Viscount, request of, to Duke of Buckingham, previous to his assassination, i. 140
Fielding, Lieutenant-Colonel, billetting soldiers, ii. 211; his regiment disbanded, ii. 212
Fiennes, Mr., member of Committee of Safety, c. w. ii. 3
Fines, exorbitant, i. 217; Lord Strafford's Letters, *ib. note*
Finch, Sir John, Speaker of Commons, pusillanimous conduct of, i. 184, 191, *note*; warns Short Parliament to grant supplies, i. 397; Chief Justice of Common Pleas, i. 293; his address to Long Parliament, ii. 33; attacked by Mr. Rigby in Commons, ii. 177; escapes to Holland, *ib. note*
Fleetwood, General, to Vice-Admiral Lawson, council of officers resolve to call a Parliament, c. w. ii. 148.
Fleetwood, Sir William, pricked for sheriff by order of Charles I. i. 34
Fleming, Captain, killed at Sherborne, c. w. i. 246
Fleming, Sir William, alluded to in a letter from Endymion Porter to Sir Richard Browne, c. w. ii. 30
Forbes, Lieutenant-Colonel, liberated at Helmsley Castle, c. w. i. 122; alluded to by Sir John Savile, c. w. i. 177
Fordwick, Lord. *See* HEATH, SIR ROBERT
Forest Laws revived, i. 213; fines levied under, i. 214; executed against cottagers, ii. 216
Foulis, Sir David, fined 5000*l.*, and imprisoned for speaking slightingly of Lord Wentworth, i. 217
Fox, Mr., his losses referred to in a letter from Sir Thomas Fairfax, vol. i. xxviii
Fox, Colonel, one of Lord Fairfax's council of war, c. w. i. 39
Freak, Colonel, one of Lord Fairfax's council of war, c. w. i. 39
Freeholders, substantial, petition of, ii. 201, *note*
Fretchville, Colonel, military movements of, at Newark, c. w. i. 83
Fronde, barricade of the, c. w. ii. 66, 67

GALLOWAY, Bishop of, attacked by Church rioters, i. 332
Gardiner, Christopher, letter of, offering his service to the royal cause, c. w. ii. 138
Gardiner, Sir Thomas, rejected by the citizens of London, ii. 30
Gardiner, Christopher, and Thomas Richard, on various affairs, c. w. ii. 138
Garland, Captain, at battle of St. Fagan's, c. w. ii. 23
Garnet, ——., implicated in the murder of Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey, c. w. ii. 296
Garrard, Rev. Mr., letter to Lord Wentworth, fines under the revised Forest Laws, i. 214, 215—217

Garraway, Sir Henry, evidence of, against Lord Strafford, ii. 74

Gascoigne, Sir Bernard, at siege of Colchester, c. w. ii. 47

General election, 1625, i. 5

Gerbier, Sir Balthasar. The Duke of Buckingham's observations to, at Rochelle, i. 139

Gibson, Sir John, to Lord Fairfax at Denton, the continental wars, West Indies, i. 262, *note*; petitions the King not to allow removal of Hull magazine, ii. 398

Gibson, Mr. John, to Brian Fairfax, Esq., Duke of Buckingham's death, c.w. ii. 254

Giddon, Protestant mummery at, i. 281

Gill, ——., alluded to in letter of Sir Thomas Fairfax, vol. i. XXXIV

Gill, Dr., fined for drinking Felton's health, i. 148

Gill, Captain, alluded to in reference to raising supplies for Parliamentary army, c. w. i. 81

Glanville, Mr., appointed one of committee to manage impeachment of Duke of Buckingham, i. 42

Glenham, Sir Thomas, retires to Carlisle with Sir Peter Musgrave, c. w. i. 204, 205; answer of, to general summons, c. w. i. 293.

Gloucester, Duke of, at Brussels, c. w. ii. 145

Gloucester, anticipated rising in, c. w. ii. 123

Godfrey, Sir Edmondsbury, murder of, c. w. ii. 222

Godfrey, Lieutenant, at battle of St. Fagan's, c. w. ii. 23

Godolphin, Lord, alluded to by Brian Fairfax as First Lord of the Treasury, c. w. ii. 260

Goff, Dr., report of his being at Amsterdam alluded to, c w. ii. 127

Goldsmiths' Hall, circular from, to defaulters, c. w. i. 109

Gondomar, Count, alluded to in reference to the impeachment of Buckingham, i. 46

Goodman, Bishop, appeal of, to authorities of Gloucester, c. w. ii. 111

Goodrich, Sir Henry, letter to Lord Fairfax, (1st Lord), on the armed forces of the county, i. 169; Sir Henry Goodrich's pedigree, *ib. note*

Goodenough, Richard, Mr., implicated in Rye House Plot, c. w. ii. 234

Gooding, Mr., purchases Fairfax MSS., vol. i. CXXXIX; offers MSS. to Mr. Newington Hughes, *ib.*

Gordon, Lieutenant-Colonel, taken prisoner at Sherborne, c. w. i. 254

Gordon, John, of Bushie, remarkable speech of, at the trial of Lord Balmerino, i. 290

Gorge, Sir Ferdinand, returns to England in the Neptune, i. 21

Goring, Mr., commands a regiment in the Low Countries, i. 263, *note*

Goring, Lord, Goring's plot, ii. 117; plotters' escape, ii. 124; at Marlborough, c. w. i. 215; defeated at Langport, c. w. i. 234; letter to Sir Constantine Huggens, defeat at Naseby, c. w. i. 237; superseded by Lord Hopton, c. w. i. 281; employed in secret service, *ib.*; General of insurgents in Kent, c. w. ii. 31; defeated at Maidstone, c. w. ii. 32; reinforced by Sir C. Lucas, c. w. ii. 34; at siege of Colchester, c. w. ii. 43; his reply to inhabitants of Colchester, c. w. ii. 45; taken prisoner by Sir T. Fairfax, c. w. ii. 46

Gouge, Dr., alluded to in a letter respecting marriage of Sir Thomas Fairfax, i. 296

Gower, Sir Thomas, fined in Star Chamber Court, i. 227; alluded to respecting Poll Tax, ii. 293

Graham, Sir Thomas, at Wetherby skirmish, vol. i. XCVII

Graham, Marquis of, joins the Royal army, c. w. i. 202; wounded at Edgehill, *ib.*

Graham, Lady, to Lord Ferd. Fairfax, for protection, c. w. i. 204

Grammont, Monsieur de, at Peronne, c. w. ii. 19

Gray, Lord, one of committee to present "Remonstrance" to the King, ii. 311

Greatrex, Captain, commands a company in Spinola's army, in Low Countries, vol. i. XLI

Green, ——., implicated in the murder of Sir Edmonsbury Godfrey, c. w. ii. 296

Greenfield, Sir Richard, joins Royalist army, c. w. i. 82

Greenwood, Rev. Charles, one of Lord Strafford's domestic advisers, ii. 160

Gregory, Sergeant, elected Speaker of Commons, c. w. ii. 233

Grenville, Sir Richard, besieges Taunton, c. w. i. 215

Grenvile, Sir John, negociates between Charles II. and General Monk, c. w. ii. 215

Gresham, Sir Richard, confession of Felton to, i. 142

Griffith, John-Ap, to Sir Richard Browne, reports of Cromwell, Prince of Wales, c. w. ii. 126

Grimston, Sir Harbottle, released from prison by order of Privy Council, i. 88

Grimston, Mr., speech of, i. 398; denounces Sir F. Windebank, ii. 175.

Guise, Duke of, his captivity alluded to, c. w. ii. 19

Guizot, Monsieur, statements of, respecting Charles I.'s arrival at York, i. 350

Gumble, Dr., chaplain to General Monk, c w. ii. 161 ; General Monk described by, c. w. ii. 193

HACKETT, Mr., chaplain to the Lord Keeper Williams, i. 124 ; his quarrel with the Queen's confessor, *ib.*

Hall, Bishop, speech on the exclusion of the twelve bishops from Parliament, ii. 193

Hamé, Duke de, invested with order of Golden Fleece, c. w. ii. 14, 15

Hamilton, Colonel, one of Lord Fairfax's council of war, c. w. i. 39

Hamilton, Marquis of, rumoured junction of, with King of Sweden, i. 129, *note* ; raises volunteers for King of Denmark, i. 234, 235; meets the Covenanters at Edinburgh, i. 343 ; summoned to the King's Council in Scotch war, i. 371 ; his reply to Lord Strafford thereon, ii. 16 ; his regiment disbanded, ii. 212 ; abstract of billet money, ii. 218 ; intrigues with Covenanters, ii. 239 ; private warrant from the King, ii. 240 ; attends Charles I. to Scotland, ii. 254 ; at battle of Preston, c. w. ii. 61 ; report of death of, c. w. ii. 126

Hammond, Colonel, takes Poldram House c. w. i. 281 ; honourable mention of, by Sir Thomas Fairfax, c. w. i. 291 ; Governor of Carisbrook Castle, c. w. i. 399 ; Charles I. surrenders to, *ib.* ; storming of Bristol, c. w. i. 401 ; his conduct to the King, c. w. i. 402, 403 ; reproached by the King, c. w. ii. 4 ; Major Bosville, c. w. ii. 5 ; demands more forces for Isle of Wight, c. w. ii. 8 ; superseded by Lord Fairfax, c. w. ii. 75

Hampden, John, refuses to join Court party, i. 223 ; resists levy of ship-money, *ib.* ; arguments of the case, i. 224 ; attempts to emigrate, i. 342 ; opposes supplies for Scotch war, i. 399 ; judgment against him reversed, ii. 38, 183, *note* ; proposes that "the Remonstrance" to Charles be printed, ii. 309 ; impeached by the King, ii. 325 ; one of the five members attempted to be seized by Charles, *ib.* ; killed at Chalgrave field, c. w. i. 53 ; character of, i. 222

Harby, Sir Job, endeavours to raise money for the King on the Queen's jewels, ii. 224

Harcourt, Sir Simon, lands at Berwick, i. 367

Hardisty, Mr. William, collector of subsidies in Claro, ii. 110

Harleian MSS., ii. 335, *note*

Harrington, Colonel, one of Lord Fairfax's council of war, c. w. i. 39

Harrison, Major, bears dispatch of battle of Naseby to Parliament, c. w. i. 236

Hartecombe, Dr., Irish agent in Paris, c. w. i. 119

Haselrig, Sir Arthur, endeavours to emigrate, i. 342 ; introduces bill of attainder against Strafford, ii. 80 ; impeached by the King, ii. 325, 327, *note*

Hastings, Colonel, at Chesterfield, c. w. i. 83

Hatton, Sir Christopher, fined 12,000*l.* i. 215

Hatton, Lord, calumnies of, against Sir R. Browne, c. w. ii. 227

Hayman, Sir Peter, arrested, i. 189 ; examined before the Privy Council, i. 191 ; committed to the Tower, *ib.* ; examined at the Tower, i. 192 ; subpœnaed before the Star Chamber, i. 193; solitary confinement of, i. 199

Heath, Sir Robert, at Selden's trial, i. 197; removed from the Bench, i. 293 ; cause of removal not known, i. 294 ; created a peer, i. 295

Henderson, Mr. Alexander, one of Scotch commissioners at treaty of Ripon, ii. 22

Henderson, Sir John, defeated at Winceby, c. w. i. 62

Hepburn, Sir Patrick, one of Scotch commissioners at treaty of Ripon, ii. 22

Herbert, Christopher, to Lord Fairfax at Denton, acknowledging the receipt of 40 shillings, i. 253

Herbert, Sir Thomas, to Lord Fairfax at Denton, mutinous conduct of seamen, i. 89 ; French news, i. 239 ; German news, death of Wallenstein, i. 257, 259

Herbert, Sir Edward, made Queen's Attorney-General, i. 295

Herbert, Lord Edward, indignant reply of, to Scotch commissioners, ii. 23

Herbert, Sir Garrett, commands in Spinola's army, in Low Countries, vol. i. XLI.

Hereford, Lord, appointed one of commissioners to invite Charles II. to England, c. w. ii. 217

Hertford, Marquis, at siege of Wells, c. w. i. 17

Heveningham, Sir John, a loan recusant, i. 70, *note*

Hewson, Colonel, ordered by Sir Thomas Fairfax to quarter his soldiers in the City to obtain arrears of pay, c. w. i. 387 ; valour of, alluded to by Sir Thomas Fairfax, at battle of Maidstone, c. w. ii. 32

Hicks, daring enterprise of, at the siege of Rochelle, vol. i. LI.

Hill, Mr., alluded to in Mr. Stockdale's letter respecting Knaresborough election, ii. 108

Hill, Colonel, alluded to in Sir Charles Coote's letter to Lord President of Council of State, for provisions for forces in Ireland, c. w. ii. 123

Hillyard, ——., fined 5000*l.* for selling saltpetre contrary to proclamation, ii. 37

Hippesley, Sir John, conveys the news of Buckingham's assassination to the King, i. 147

Hobart, Sir Miles, arrested, i. 189 ; examined before the Privy Council, i. 191 ; committed to the Tower, *ib.* ; examined, *ib.* ; subpœnaed before the Star Chamber, i. 193 ; solitary confinement of, i. 199

Hobbis, Sir Thomas,one of commissioners for raising subsidy granted to Charles I., i. 210.

Hobson's choice, origin of, vol. i. LXVIII.

Hodges, Sir William, Charles I. removed to his house at Newport, c. w. ii. 74 ; the King holds a court there, *ib.*

Holborne, Mr., argues against legality of levy of ship-money, i. 223

Holborne, Robert, to Lord Fairfax, differences between Parliament and Army, c. w. i. 362

Holland, Earl of, appointed General of Horse, i. 357 ; advances on Berwick, *ib.* ; his disgraceful retreat to Berwick, i. 375 ; appointed General for dissolving the three armies, ii. 198 ; disbands five regiments, ii. 210 ; reports to Parliament, attempt to corrupt army, ii. 255; deputed by Commons to present Declaration to Charles I., ii. 356 ; endeavours to persuade the King to return to Parliament, ii. 358; deputed by Parliament to prevent removal of Prince of Wales, ii. 387

Holles, Denzil, to Sir T. Wentworth, state of commerce, i. 84 ; detains Speaker in his chair, i. 184 ; reads the three Protestations to the House, i. 185 ; arrested, i. 189 ; examined, i. 190 ; committed to Tower, i. 191 ; subpœnaed before Star Chamber, i. 193 ; indicted in King's Bench, i. 202 ; fined, i. 203 ; consulted by Charles I. on Strafford's trial, ii. 137 ; his reply, ii. 138 ; impeaches Laud, ii. 175 ; impeached by the King, ii. 325; one of commissioners appointed to invite Charles II. to England, c. w. ii. 217

Honniwood, Sir Thomas, movements of, in Essex, c. w. ii. 35

Hope, Sir Thomas, his opinion of the Scotch war, ii. 8 ; his conduct at battle of Newbourn, ii. 12

Hopton, Colonel, slain at Winceby fight, c. w. i. 65

Hopton, Lord, commands Royalists in Cornwall, c. w. i. 281 ; at Torrington, c. w. i. 283 ; defeated by Sir T. Fairfax, c. w. i. 285 ; his army disbanded, c. w. i. 287, 288

Horn, Sir John, at Wells, c. w. i. 17

Horsey, Captain, killed at Sherborne, c. w. i. 246

Horton, Col., defeats Royalists at St. Fagan's, c. w. ii. 22 ; death of, c. w. ii. 108

Hoskins, Sergeant, observation of, in Commons, on redress of grievances and vote of supply, i. 97

Hotham, Sir John, examined before Privy Council, i. 405 ; his financial report, ii. 221, *note* ; governor of Hull, ii. 343, c. w. i. 11 ; refuses admittance to Charles at Beverley Gate, c. w. i. 12 ; vindicated by Parliament, *ib.* ; suspected of treachery, c. w. i. 47 ; denounced by Pym, c. w. i. 48 ; executed on Towerhill, c. w. i. 49

Houghton, Lord, i. 303, *note* ; ii. 19

Howard, Lord, to Lord F. Fairfax, living of Wheldrake, c. w. i. 122, 124—127

Howard, Col., Thomas, death of, ii. 418

Howe, Earl of, meets Charles I. at the border, i. 284

Hoyle, Captain, alluded to by Peter du Moulin in his letter to Lord Fairfax, c. w. i. 193

Hubbart, Sir Miles, at Winceby fight, c. w. i. 63

Hudson, Dr., capture of, in Kent, c. w. i. 295, 296

Hughes, Mr. Newington, purchases Fairfax's MSS., vol. i. CXXXIX ; discovers their importance, *ib.*

Hughes, Captain, taken prisoner at Hunstett, c. w. i. 94

Hughes, Captain, at battle of St. Fagan's, c. w. ii. 23

Humphreys, Captain, assistance of, requested by Colonel Hammond to guard the King at Carisbrook, c. w. ii. 9

Hungerford, Sir Edward, at siege of Wells, c. w. i. 17

Huntley, Marquis, position of, in Scotch war, i. 358

Huson, Mr., alluded to in Colonel Mitton's statement of capture of Shrewsbury, c. w. i. 170

Hussey, Mrs., marriage of, with Lord Ferdinando Fairfax, c. w. i. 330

Hutchinson, Mrs., ii. 327, *note*; capture of Sir M. Langdale, c. w. ii. 63

Hutchinson, Colonel, garrison in Gloucester, c. w. i. 215; letter to Lord Fairfax, movements of Royalists, c. w. i. 222

Hutton, Sir Richard, marries Lady Dorothy Fairfax, vol. i. LXXV; alluded to in a letter of Lord Ferdinando Fairfax, i. 24; to Sir Ferdinando Fairfax, on various matters, i. 254; slain at Sherborne, c. w. i. 255

Hutton, Mr. Justice, receives 20*l.* from Sir Thomas Fairfax to pay fine on Wentworth estates, vol. i. XXXIII

Huggins, Sir Constantine, letter from General Goring to, after battle of Naseby, c. w. i. 237

Hyde, Edward, his opinion of the government of Charles I., i. 189; moves an amendment in Short Parliament, i. 400; his interview with Laud on dissolving Parliament, i. 401; a reformer in 1640, ii. 34; his opinion of Cromwell, ii. 35; his private interview with the King, ii. 118; protests against printing the "Remonstrance" of Commons to Charles, ii. 310; one of the King's chief advisers, ii. 312; declines the Solicitor-generalship, ii. 313; prepares reply to Remonstrance of Commons, *ib.*; disheartened at the King's attempt to seize the five members, ii. 333; his opinion of Charles's retreat from London, ii. 339; deputed by Parliament to prevent removal of Prince of Wales, ii. 387; his advice to Lord Digby, c. w. i. 256

Hyde, Anne, maid of honour to Princess Henrietta, c. w. ii. 269; depositions concerning her marriage with Duke of York, c. w. ii. 272; letters to Lady Cornbury, c. w. ii. 274, 275; to Lady Henrietta Hyde, c. w. ii. 276, 277; to the Princess Mary of Orange, c. w. ii. 277; biography of, in her own handwriting, c. w. ii. 278, 279; her motives for embracing the Catholic faith, c. w. ii. 280; her death, c. w. ii. 279

IBSON, Thomas, to Viscount Fairfax of Emely, ravages of Scotch soldiers, assessments, power of commissioners to absolve contracts, c. w. i. 209

Impressment of soldiers, ii. 316

Inchiquin, Lord, takes Dungarvan Castle, c. w. i. 341; movements of, *ib.*; defection of, c. w. ii. 18; defeat of, c. w. ii. 94

Incident, the outrage of, ii. 257

Income tax levied by the Commons, ii. 224; amount of rating, *ib.*

Ingleby, Mr., alluded to, concerning soldiers' billet, ii. 111

Ingram, Arthur, Sir, to Lord Fairfax, requesting a loan of herons, i. 277; for a litter, *ib.*; one of committee to present "Remonstrance" to the King, ii. 311

Instructions, copy of, from the Council, to the commissioners for the raising subsidies, i. 210; commissioners names, *ib. note*

Ireland, discontent in, ii. 292; troops for, ii. 297; raising money for, ii. 379, *note*

Ireton, Colonel, sent to Oxford by Sir Thomas Fairfax, c. w. i. 289; at Naseby, c. w. i. 232; wounded, *ib.*; movements of in the West, c. w. i. 261, *note*; c. w. ii. 49; attainted for high treason, c. w. ii. 150

JADIS, Mr., fragments of Fairfax MSS. found in the collection of, vol. i. CXXXIX.

James I., epitaph upon, by Edward Fairfax, i. 2; prophetic warning to Charles I., i. 153, *note*

Jameson, Mr. N., to Mr. Evelyn, applying for white mulbery seed, c. w. ii. 331

Jenkins, Judge, his trial alluded to, c. w. ii. 109

Jennings, Peter, Esq., marries daughter of Mr. Charles Fairfax, c. w. i. 308, 309

Jermyn, Mr. Henry, implicated in Goring's plot, ii. 118

Jermyn, Francis, Esq., one of committee of associated counties, c. w. i. 56

Jesuits, College of, at Edmonton, i. 177; ten Jesuits committed to Newgate, *ib.*

Johnson, Captain, at Winceby fight, c. w. i. 64

Johnston, Archibald, knighted by Charles I., ii. 258

Jones, Captain, at battle of St. Fagan's, c. w. 24

Joyce, Cornet; seizes the King at Holmby, c. w. i. 351

Juxon, Bishop, to Bishop of Ross, i. 328; to Sir R. Wynn, demanding a loan for Charles I., i. 402; warns the King on Strafford's trial, ii. 127; resigns treasurership, ii. 134

Kelly, ——, implicated in the murder of Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey, c. w. ii. 296
Kelso, affair at, i. 375
Kent, Earl of, one of committee of safety, c. w. ii. 3
Kenyon, Captain, with Sir John Savile at Bradford, c. w. i. 178
Key, John, Esq., one of commissioners for raising subsidy granted to Charles I., i. 210
Kimbolton, Lord, *see* Mandeville, Lord
King, General, visits the King at York, ii. 391; landing of in Scotland alluded to, c. w. ii. 106
King, John, Esq., one of committee of associated counties, c. w. i. 56
Kingston, Earl, taken prisoner at Gainsborough, c. w. i. 128
Kirk of Scotland, *see* Scotch Church
Kirkmen's apparel Act, i. 287; its consequences, i. 292
Kirton, Mr., observation of, on the appointments of Dr. Mainwaring, i. 114
Kirton, Captain, alluded to respecting billet money, ii. 115
Knaresborough election, misdemeanour of returning officers, ii. 216; disputed return, ii. 260—269, 291—295, 323, 345, 366, 383, 392, 394
Knighthood money, i. 212

Labourne, Captain, taken prisoner at Hunstett, c. w. i. 94
Laine, Captain, prisoner at Hunstett, c. w. i. 94
Lambert, Colonel, to Sir Thomas Fairfax, attacks loyalists at Hunstett, c. w. i. 94; position of, at the Restoration, c. w. ii. 151; deserted by his army, c. w. ii. 166—168; tried by Charles II., and imprisoned, c. w. i. 96; ambitious designs of, c. w. ii. 190
Lane, Mr., arguments of, on Lord Strafford's trial, ii. 90
Langdale, Sir Marmaduke, defeats Lord Fairfax at Pontefract, c. w. i. 184; defeated at Preston by Cromwell, c. w. ii. 60; prisoner in Nottingham castle, c. w. ii. 61, 64; exempted from pardon, *ib.*
Langley, Captain, alluded to as billetted at Preston, ii. 200
Langrishe, Captain, warning of, to the five members of the Commons, ii. 326, *note*
Lathom house, siege of, c. w. i. 87—89
Laud, Archbishop, assists at the coronation of Charles I., i. 38; publishes Dr. Sibthorpe's sermon, i. 67; chief minister to Charles I., i. 152; King James's opinion of, i. 153; advises Charles I. to visit Scotland, i. 272; his ominous letter to Lord Wentworth on the Church, i. 273; ecclesiastical power of, i. 274; crowns Charles at Holyrood, i. 285; his conduct to Dr. Lindsey, *ib.*; letter of, to Dr. Maxwell, canons for Scotch Church, i. 325; his interference with Scotch liturgy, i. 326; prohibits publishing of puritanical works, i, 336; plots Dr. Williams's ruin, i. 339; his interview with Mr. Hyde, on dissolving Parliament, i. 400; popular indignation against, ii. 4; his palace invested, *ib.*; fortifies his house, urges on the war with Scotland, ii. 5; encroaches on civil power, ii. 6; afraid to summon Parliament, ii. 17; advises the King to summon a council of Peers, *ib.*; denounced by Sir E. Deering, ii. 175; impeached by Denzil Holles and committed to the tower, *ib.*; his grief on Strafford's going to execution, ii. 154
Lawford, Colonel, mutinous state of his regiment in Scotch war, ii. 7
Lawson, Richard, to the Lord Fairfax, relative to money sent to his grandson and other matters, i. 245
Lawson, Vice-Admiral, brief account of, c. w. ii. 147
Lawson, Sir Wilfred, his acquittal at Commons alluded to, c. w. ii. 28
Leate, Mr., his losses referred to in a letter from Sir T. Fairfax, vol. i. xxviii.
Le Brun, Monsieur, plenipotentiary from Spain, c. w. ii. 6
Leeds taken possession of by Lord Fairfax, ii. 416
Legerdes, Mr., fined in Star Chamber Court, i. 227.
Legg, Major William, his trial alluded to, c. w. ii. 109
Leicester, Countess of, her death alluded to, vol. i. lxxix.
Leighton, Dr., branded, whipped, and fined for writing against episcopacy, ii. 36
Leint, Captain, at battle of St. Fagan's, c. w. ii. 23
Lens, battle of, c. w. ii. 67
Lennox, Duke of, attends Charles I. to Scotland, ii. 254
Lenthall, William, Speaker of Commons, ii. 30; Clarendon's opinion of, ii. 31; to Lord Fairfax, promising supplies. c. w. i. 31

Leon, Watson, to the Earl of Manchester, battle of Marston Moor, c. w. i. 111

Leopold, Arckduke, his anticipated government of Netherlands alluded to, c. w. ii. 13

Leslie, General Alexander, commands Covenant army, i. 344 ; at Aton, i. 368 ; mutinous state of English army, known to, ii. 8 ; battle of Newbourn, ii. 12 ; takes Newcastle, ii. 13 ; created a peer by Charles I., ii. 258

Leslie, General David; siege of Carlisle, c. w. i. 280

Lesly, John, curious letter of, ii. 14

Letch, Sir Edward, alluded to by Sir G. Wentworth, i. 8

Leuson, Captain, taken prisoner at Sherborne, c. w. i. 254

Leven, Earl, advances south with Scotch army, c. w. i. 102

Levy, rights of, discussion about, c. w. i. 241

Lewenstein, F., to Sir F. Fairfax, i. 321, *note*; ii. 196, *note*

Ligny, Prince de, invested with order of Golden Fleece, c. w. ii. 14 ; taken prisoner at battle of Lens, c. w. ii. 67

Lilly, the astrologer, his account of Charles I.'s attempt to escape from Carisbrook, c. w. ii. 17; prediction of, verified, c. w. ii. 74

Lindsey, Lord, General of the King's forces, c. w. i. 14; death and character of, *ib.*

Lindsey, Dr., at coronation of Charles I., i. 285 ; stool flung at him in the pulpit, i. 331

Lincoln, Bishop of. *See* Lord Keeper Williams.

Lisle, Sir George, shot by order of council of war, c. w. ii. 47; observations on his sentence, c. w. ii. 48

Lister, Capt. William, death of, c. w. i. 27

Littleton, Sir Edward, Solicitor-General, Chief-Justice of Common Pleas, Lord Keeper, Colonel of Foot, i. 295; refuses to seal proclamation for seizure of the five members, ii. 330

Loan recusants, imprisonment of, i. 70; summoned to London, i. 74 ; restored to liberty, i. 188; twenty-seven returned to Parliament, *ib. note.*

Loans, forced, relief from, sought by Commons, i. 96

Loan, money raised by, ii. 2

Lobby, Nicholas, his statement of death of Peregrine Fairfax, vol. i. lvi.

Loftus, Sir Robert, alluded to in a letter of Sir Thomas Wentworth, vol. i. lxiv

Loftus, Sir Edward, alluded to in Lord Fairfax's letters to committee of safety, c. w. i. 26

Lomax, Gervase, Mr., to Lord Ferdinand Fairfax, movement of Sir T. Fairfax's troops, c. w. i. 229

London, state of, in 1627, i. 83 ; citizens of, oppose illegal taxation, i. 90; corporation of, petition against ship-money, i. 220; citizens petition Charles for peace with Scotland, ii. 16 ; petition against Episcopacy, ii. 184 ; voluntary taxes raised by, c. w. i. 108; Goldsmiths' Hall circular, c. w. i. 109; petition for disbanding Parliamentary army, c. w. i. 333; soldiers quartered in, for arrears of pay, c. w. i. 386

Long, Mr., committed to the Tower, i. 191; examined, *ib.*; subpœnaed before the Star Chamber, i. 193; solitary confinement of, i. 199; fined, i. 203 ; fined and imprisoned for attending to his Parliamentary duties, ii. 36

Lorraine, Duke of, alluded to in a letter of Mr. Thomas Hubert, i. 259 ; inspection of his forces alluded to, c. w. ii. 13

Loudon, Lord, opposes Kirkmen's apparel Act, i. 287; articles of pacification, i. 392; committed to the Tower, i. 395; Lord Chancellor, ii. 258

Love, Mr., beheaded, c. w. ii. 131

Lowther, Mr. John, knighted, i. 30

Lowther, William, Esq., one of commissioners for raising subsidy granted to Charles I., i. 210

Lowther, Sir G., cited as an instance of Strafford's tyranny in Ireland, ii. 68

Lowther, Colonel, to Lord F. Fairfax, exchange of prisoners, c. w. i. 185, 186

Lucas, Sir Charles, obtains his commission at Marston Moor, c. w. ii. 39 ; surrenders Berkeley Castle, *ib.*; joins Lord Goring in Essex, c. w. ii. 34 ; pursued by Lord Fairfax, reaches Colchester, c. w. ii. 40; breach of faith of, c. w. ii. 40—53 ; counter statements, c. w. ii. 53—55; proclamation of, c. w. ii. 42; conceals proclamation of Fairfax from Royalist forces, c. w. ii, 43 ; surrenders Colchester, c. w. ii. 46 ; his cruelty, c. w. ii. 52; Fairfax declines treating with him for exchange of prisoners, c. w. ii. 56 ; letter to Lord Fairfax, *ib.*; observations thereon, c. w. ii. 57, 58 ; shot by order of council of war, c. w. ii. 47; observations on his sentence, c. w. ii. 48 ; character of, c. w. ii. 36—39

Lunsford, Colonel, appointed to the command of the Tower, ii. 318; deprived of his command, ii. 319

Lyn, Captain, his want of supplies, c. w. i. 83

Mabbot, George, Mr., to Lord Thomas Fairfax, proceedings in Commons, c. w. ii. 28

Maidstone, battle of, c. w. ii. 32

Mainwaring, Dr., sentenced by the Commons, i. 112; raised to the see of St. David's, i. 114, 179

Malevery, Colonel, killed before Pontefract, c. w. i. 184

Man, Mr. Peter, Lord Strafford's solicitor, ii. 160

Manchester, University, petition for, ii. 271; ii. 180

Manchester, Earl of, at Winceby fight, defeats Sir John Henderson, c. w. i. 62; takes Lincoln, his dissension with Cromwell, c. w. i. 114, 115; resigns his command, c. w. i. 116, 174; pedigree of, c. w. i. 117; Speaker of Peers at Restoration, c. w. i. 116

Mandeville, Lord, impeached by the King, ii. 322

Mansfield, Count, alluded to, vol. i. xliii

Mancy, Sir John, slain at battle of Maidstone, c. w. ii. 33

Marlborough, Earl of, one of commissioners empowered to raise money by impositions or otherwise, i. 106; panegyric on, by the Dean of St. Pauls, alluded to, c. w. ii. 239

Marshall, Captain, taken prisoner at Sherborne, c. w. i. 254

Marston Moor, battle of, c. w. i. 112

Martin, Henry, Esq., one of committee of safety, c. w. i. 22

Martin, Colonel Thomas, accompanies Lord Fairfax to America, vol. i. cxxx; advice of, *ib.*

Martin, General Philip, cuts off entail of Leeds Castle, Kent, vol. i. cxxxviii

Martin, Fiennes Wykeham, Mr., inherits Leeds Castle, Kent, vol. i. cxxxviii; discovers Fairfax's MSS., *ib.*

Mary, Princess, at Strafford's trial, ii. 59

Mason, Dr., his opinion of the Duke of Buckingham, i. 138

Massey, Colonel, garrisons Gloucester, c. w. i. 215

Mauleverer, Thomas, Esq., one of commissioners for raising subsidy granted to Charles I., i. 210; ii. 99, *note*

Maurice, Prince, reputed junction of, with Sir M. Langdale, c. w. i. 166; at Chirk Castle, c. w. i. 172

Maxwell, Dr., Bishop of Ross, misleads the King, i. 351

Maxwell, James, keeper of the Black Rod at Strafford's impeachment, ii. 47

May, Sir Henry, alluded to by Sir William Constable, i. 68

May games, forbidden, ii. 3

Mazarin, Cardinal, his indisposition alluded to, c. w. ii. 73

Meetings, public, forbidden, ii. 3

Melton, Sir John, i. 255, *note*; to Lord Fairfax, i. 280, *note*

Metham, Sir Thomas, petitions the King not to allow removal of Hull magazine, ii. 398

Mennis, Sir John, lampoons Sir John Suckling's troop, i. 376.

Middleton, Lieutenant-General, at Philiphaugh, c.w. i. 195; at battle of Preston, c. w. ii. 62

Middleton, Ralph, to Ferdinando Lord Fairfax, for protection, c. w. i. 197

Middleton, Anne Mary, to Ferdinando Lord Fairfax, for protection, c. w. i. 198

Miller, Alderman, alluded to, as purchaser of part of Fairfax estates, c. w. ii. 241

Mytton, Colonel, Governor of Shropshire, places a garrison in Wem, c. w. i. 169; thanked by Parliament, c. w. i. 170; Major-General, *ib.*; letters to the Speaker of the Commons, account of the taking of Shrewsbury, *ib.*

Monk, General, ii. 23, *note*; taken prisoner at Nantwich, c. w. i. 129; commands army in Scotland, c. w. ii. 151; wishes Lord Fairfax to join with him against Lambert's army, c. w. ii. 152; position of in Scotland after Cromwell's death, c. w. ii. 174; not the cause of the Restoration, c. w. ii. 175; brief review of his conduct during Civil War and at Restoration, c. w. ii. 177; his animosity to Cromwell, *ib. note*; his reasons for taking the Covenant, c. w. ii. 178, *note*; his belief in superstition, c. w. ii. 180, *note*; ominous postscript from Cromwell to, c. w. 181; duplicity of, c. w. ii. 182, 183, *note*; his movements determined by Sir Thomas Fairfax, c. w. ii. 191; his interview with Sir F. Fairfax, c. w. ii. 192; description of, by Dr. Gumble, c. w. ii. 193, 194; dupes all parties, c. w. ii. 196; Pepys' opinion of, c. w. ii. 197; Sir John Bramston's review of his proceedings on his march from Scotland, c. w. ii. 198; his conduct towards the Rump, c. w. ii. 201; his subtlety at the

Council on oath of abjuration being tendered, c. w. ii. 202 ; baffles the Rump, c. w. ii. 203—205; review of his conduct towards the Rump, c. w. ii. 207 ; to Lord Fairfax, re-admission of secluded members, c. w. ii. 208; duplicity of, c. w. ii. 211—215 ; gets the credit of restoring the King, c. w. ii. 216; honours and rewards, c. w. ii. 219; vices of, *ib. note*

Monmouth, Earl of, his opinion of the King's departure from Whitehall, ii. 338

Monopolies, soap, i. 218; ship-money, i. 219

Monroe, Sir George, his taking of Belfast alluded to, c. w. ii. 107

Montague, Dr., raised to the bishoprick of Chichester, i. 114, 179

Montaigue, Dr., archbishop of York, death of, i. 234, *note*

Montgomery, Earl of, one of commissioners empowered to raise money by impositions or otherwise, i. 106

Montmorency, Duke of, at Montpellier, i. 78

Montrose, Earl of, crosses the Tweed with Covenant army, ii. 10 ; his ambiguous letters, ii. 246 ; one of the confederacy of "Plotters," ii. 247 ; his army defeated at Philiphaugh, c. w. i. 270 ; takes refuge in the highlands, *ib.*

Moody, Captain, at Winceby fight, c. w. i. 63

Moore, Mr. Thomas, alluded to in respect of Knaresborough election, ii. 217

Moray, Sir R., to Mr. Evelyn, c. w. ii. 252

More, Rev. Benjamin, to the 1st Lord Fairfax, on Church affairs, i. 334

Moreton, Dr., rumoured appointment of, to the Archbishopric of York, i. 234

Morgan, Mr., his losses referred to in a letter from Sir Thomas Fairfax, vol. i. XXVIII

Morgan, Captain, alluded to in a letter of Sir Thomas Fairfax, c. w. i. 44

Morgan, Colonel, at siege of Ragland Castle, c. w. i. 316 ; left by Monk in command in Scotland, c. w. ii. 199, *note*

Morley, Lord, fined 20,000*l.* for calling Sir George Theobald a "base rascal," i. 217, *note*

Morrice, Sir William, the common right to the Lord's Supper asserted by, c. w. ii. 140—144

Morris, Richard, to the 1st Lord Fairfax at Denton, appointing an interview between him and Lord Wentworth, i. 248 ; steward of Lord Strafford, ii. 160

Morton, Sir Thomas, present at the assassination of the Duke of Buckingham, i. 145

Morton, Bishop, entertains King Charles I. at Auckland, i. 282

Motteville, Madame de, ii. 332, 333, *note*

Moulson, Alderman, elected knight by citizens of London, i. 89

Moulin du, Peter, to Ferdinando Lord Fairfax, ejected from his living in Yorkshire, appeals to Lord Fairfax for protection, c. w. i. 191

Mounson, Sir John, anticipated sequestration of his estate, c. w. i. 341

Mountjoy, Lord, one of Lord Fairfax's council of war, c. w. i. 39

Mountnorris, Lord, conduct of the Earl of Strafford towards, ii. 70, 75, *note*

Mulgrave, Earl. *See* SHEFFIELD, LORD

Murray, Mr. William, Parliament demands his removal from court, ii. 396

Musgrave, Sir Philip, commands 600 men at Perith, i. 372 ; raises troops for Charles, c. w. i. 204 ; taken prisoner at Rowton Moor, c. w. i. 207 ; honourable fidelity of, c. w. i. 208

Musgrave, Lady, to Lord Ferdinando Fairfax, for protection, c. w. i. 207

NALSON's copy of Sir Harry Vane's notes, ii. 83, *note*

Nantwich, battle of, c. w. i. 73

Napier, Lord, one of confederacy of "Plotters," ii. 247

Naseby, battle of, c. w. i. 231

Navy, Duke of Buckingham sells a part of, i. 20 ; Admiral Pennington ordered by Buckingham to deliver up his ships to the French, *ib.*; the English ships given up, except the Neptune, i. 21

Neale, Paul, knighted by Charles I., i. 281; petitions the King not to allow removal of Hull magazine, ii. 898

Neale, Dr., Bishop of Winchester, reprobated by the Commons for popery, i. 180 ; entertains the King at Bishopsthorpe, i. 281

Needham, Captain John, slain at Shrewsbury, c. w. i. 171

Nelthorpe, Richard, Esq., implicated in Rye-house Plot, c. w. ii. 234

Nes, Mr., alluded to as an able preacher by Lord Mulgrave, c. w. i. 191

Newark, relief of, by Prince Rupert, c. w. i. 77

Newcastle, Earl of, entertains Charles I. at Welbeck, i. 283, *note* ; proclamation of, for arms, ii. 409 ; joins Earl of Cumberland at York, c. w. i. 25 ; at Adderton Moor, c. w. i. 49 ; besieges Bradford, takes Lady Fairfax prisoner, c. w. i. 59 ; his gallantry, c. w. i. 60; enters Lincolnshire, c. w. i. 62 ; retreats to York, c. w. i. 65 ; defeated at Marston Moor, c. w. i. 112 ; flees to Hamburgh, *ib.*

Newport, Lord, fined 3000*l.* i. 215; his regiment disbanded, ii. 216

Nicholas, Mr. Jno., war in the Low Countries, c. w. ii. 145

Nicholas, Mr., Secretary, extracts from his letter to Sir Richard Browne, c. w. ii. 306; copy of his letter to Mr. Dean of Peterborough, ii. c. w. 307

Nicholson, Dr., to Mr. Evelyn, horticultural pursuits, c. w. ii. 348

Nickles, Captain, at battle of St. Fagan's, c. w. ii. 23

Nidsdale, Countess of, a prisoner at Sherborne, c. w. i. 255

Noailles, Marshal, alluded to in a letter from Titus Oates to Duke of Bolton, c. w. ii. 312

Nocliff, Mr., knighted by the King at York, ii. 269

Norfolke, Richard, oath of, respecting the escape of Henry Benson, ii. 363

North, Sir Roger, his house ordered to be freed from soldiers by Sir Thomas Fairfax, c. w. i. 334

Northumberland, Earl of, joins the King's army, i. 359 ; refuses the command of army, ii. 6

Norcoate, Colonel, one of Lord Fairfax's council of war, c. w. i. 39

Norton, Mr., alluded to as auditor of billet accounts, ii. 216

Norton, Sir Dudley, the Duke of Buckingham assassinated at the residence of, i. 146

Norwich, Earl of, supercilious conduct of, to Lord T. Fairfax, at siege of Colchester, c. w. ii. 41

Norwich, demand of subsidy from, c. w. i. 325.

Noy, Sir William, on Tonnage and Poundage question, i. 175, 176

Noy, Mr., supposed suggester of soap monopoly and ship-money, i. 211, 219, *note*

Oates, Titus, to the Duke of Bolton, Hay besieged, Sir Cloudesly Shovel, pardon of Lord Kingston, c. w. ii. 311

Oblivion, Act of, passed, ii. 256

Ochiltree, Lord, imprisoned, i. 271

Ogle, Sir John, letter to Sir Thomas Fairfax concerning the expedition to Rhé, and other matters, i. 76

Okey, Colonel, takes captain of Royalist Horse and twelve prisoners, c. w. i. 266; at battle of St. Fagan's, c. w. ii. 23

Ondart, Mr., accompanies the Queen to Dover, c. w. i. 6

O'Neal, Captain, at battle of Newbourn, ii. 12

O'Neale, Owen, defeat of, c. w. ii. 92 ; movements of at Londonderry, c. w. ii. 99

Orange, Prince of, installed Knight of the Garter, i. 77

Orange, Princess Mary, to Lady Henrietta Hyde, c. w. ii. 277

Ordinance, Self-denying, c. w. i. 154 ; rejected by the Lords, c. w. i. 155; incapacitates members of Parliament for serving in the army, c. w. i. 174

Orme, Sir John, taken prisoner at Gainsborough, c. w. i. 128

Ormond, Lord, created Earl of Calender by Charles I., ii. 258; movements of in Ireland, c. w. ii. 94 ; near Dublin, c.w. ii. 98, 99, 110

Ormond Correspondence, ii. 253, *note*

Osborne, Sir Edward, Vice-President of Northern Council, i. 349—365; to Sir F. Fairfax, i. 370; ii. 372

Osborne, Lady Ann, to Lord F. Fairfax for protection, c. w. i. 199

Osborne, Sir Peter, a prisoner in Guernsey castle, c. w. i. 119

Ossory, Earl of, deposition of, concerning marriage of Anne Hyde and Duke of York, c. w. ii. 272 ; burning of his mansion alluded to, c. w. ii. 342

Overton, Colonel, governor of Hull, c. w. i. 334 ; committed to Tower, *ib.*; letter to Lord F. Fairfax on disbanding army, c. w. i. 349; letter to Mr. Clarke on various matters, c. w. ii. 10

Owen, Sir John, prisoner in Windsor Castle, c. w. ii. 65

Owen, Cololonel, sentenced to banishment, c. w. ii. 65

Oxford, Earl, commands a division of Spinola's army in Low Countries, vol. i. xli.

Oxford, Earl of, breaks his arm at tilting match, vol. i. vii.

Oxford, Lord, appointed one of Commissioners to invite Charles II. to England, c. w. ii. 217

Pack, Colonel, one of Lord Fairfax's council of war, c. w. i. 39

Palatine, wars of the, vol. i. xliv.

Palatine, Prince Charles, Elector, letter of, to Lord Fairfax, vol. i. CXII.; attends Charles I. to Scotland, ii. 254; dines with Sir T. Fairfax, c. w. i. 366—368; suspected of intriguing for English throne, c. w. i. 373; deserts the King, *ib.*; reproached by Charles for subserviency to Parliament, c. w. i. 374

Palgrave, John, Esq., one of committee of associated counties, c. w. i. 56

Palmer, Sir Guy, pricked for sheriff by order of Charles I., i. 34

Palmer, Mr., fined for remaining in London, ii. 37; on "Remonstrance" debate, ii. 310

Palmer, Captain, implicated in Goring's plot, ii. 118

Palmes, Mr. Bryan, his rumoured intention to contest Knaresborough, ii. 217

Palmes, Mr. William, to Lord Fairfax, "the Popish Plot," c. w. ii. 296

Parker, Thomas, Esq., one of committee of associated counties, c. w. i. 56

Parliament, 1625, Commons willing to grant supplies upon redress of grievances, i. 4; dissolved by the King, *ib*; assembles 1626, i. 19; tonnage and poundage, *ib.*; removes to Oxford to avoid plague, *ib.*; assails the Duke of Buckingham, *ib.*; dissolved after a meeting of twelve days, i. 20; re-assembles in Feb. 1626, i. 23; Sir Ferdinando Fairfax member for Boroughbridge, *ib.*; demands of Charles upon the Commons, i. 25; Duke of Buckingham elected Chancellor of Cambridge, i. 29; seven members pricked for sheriffs, i. 34; evasive answer of Commons to the King's peremptory message, i. 39; both Houses summoned to Whitehall, i. 40; severity of the King, i. 41; vindicatory address presented to the King, i. 42; Buckingham impeached, *ib.*; Earl of Bristol's charges against the duke, i. 42—46; Sir John Eliot's speech, i. 47; Sir John Eliot and Sir Dudley Digges committed to the Tower, i. 50; the King tries to influence the Lords in favour of Buckingham, i. 51; Commons refuse to proceed until their members are released, *ib.*; censures Cambridge for electing Buckingham Chancellor, *ib.*; arrest of Lord Arundel, *ib.*; collision of the Lords and the King, i. 52; Parliament dissolved, i. 53; remonstrance of Commons, i. 54; assembles 1626, i. 87, 92; twenty-seven loan recusants returned to Parliament, i. 88; unconciliating speech of Charles to, i. 92; Commons persist in demanding redress, i. 93; firm attitude of the Lords, i. 94; remonstrance of Commons against Buckingham, *ib.*; addresses the Throne on the encouragement of Catholics, i. 95; Commons require relief from forced loans, i. 96; five subsidies voted, i. 97; Commons resolve that redress of grievances and supply go hand in hand, i. 100; petition of right, *ib.*; special answer of the King, i. 102; Buckingham again denounced, i. 103; the Speaker leaves the House, i. 105; Charles grants Petition of Right, *ib.*; the Lord Keeper and others empowered to raise money, i. 106; remonstrance of Commons against levy of tonnage and poundage, *ib.*; prorogued on tonnage and poundage question, i. 107; remonstrance of, on Buckingham's appointments, i. 110; fines Dr. Mainwaring, i. 112, 179; re-assembles, 1629, i. 154; tonnage and poundage bill urged on by the King, i. 155; Commons continue same course, i. 170; subsidies of tonnage and poundage refused by, i. 171; tonnage and poundage levied on Mr. Rolle, member of, i. 174; both Houses summoned to Whitehall, *ib.*; Mr. Rolle subpœnaed before Star Chamber, i. 175; errors of the Commons, i. 176; care of, for Protestant Church, *ib.*; spread of Arminianism, i. 178; Archbishop Laud attacked by Commons, i. 180; Oliver Cromwell's first appearance in, i. 181; Lord Treasurer Weston attacked by Sir John Eliot, i. 182; Commons refuse to obey Charles's orders to adjourn, i. 183; the Speaker refuses to read Sir John Eliot's remonstrance to the King, *ib.*; Selden's appeal to the Speaker, *ib.*; Speaker attempts to leave the chair, i. 184; pusillanimity of Speaker, i. 185; Mr. Selden and Sir John Hayman thereon, *ib.*; Commons refuse admittance to the King's message, i. 186; dissolved, 10th March, 1629, King's Speech, i. 186; first opposition party in, i. 187; assembles, 13th April, 1640, i. 396; Lord Keeper's opening address to, i. 397; summoned to meet the King, i. 398; Commons refuse to grant subsidies, i. 399; *Bellum Episcopale*, *ib.*; dissolution threatened, i. 400; dissolved, i. 401; members of, imprisoned, i. 405; assembles 3rd Nov. 1640, ii. 30; Charles selects Lenthall Speaker, *ib.*; firm attitude of Commons, ii. 32; address of the King to, *ib.*; dread of papacy, ii. 33; reforms effected, ii. 38; judgment against Hampden reversed, *ib.*; ship-money voted illegal, *ib.*; arbitrary levies on merchandise repealed, *ib.*; bill for triennial parliaments passed, ii. 43; impeachment of Strafford, ii. 43—47; Strafford committed to the Tower, ii. 48; Commons impeach Sir G. Ratcliff, ii. 49; Strafford's trial commences, ii. 59; charges against Strafford, ii. 66; Commons produce fresh evidence, ii. 77; tumult of Commons, ii. 78; bill of attainder preferred against Strafford, ii. 80; bill of attainder hurried forward, ii. 82; opposed by Lord Digby, *ib.*; ii. 83—85; Strafford's reply, ii. 87; Glyn and Pym's rejoinder, ii. 89; bill of attainder passes Commons, ii. 92; the King's address to the Peers on behalf of Strafford, ii. 93; Commons promote agitation against Strafford, ii. 95—97; the protestation signed by both Houses, ii. 97, *note*; names of parties held up to execration, *ib.*; Father Phillip's letter intercepted, ii. 98; Goring's plot, both Houses address the King, ii. 117; absence of Peers when bill for Strafford's death passed, ii. 125; bill of attainder signed by commission, ii. 132; letter from the King to the Peers to save Strafford, ii. 138; answer of the Lords, ii. 141; advance of the power of Commons, ii. 172; attacks Laud, ii. 174, 175; the Convocation condemned by Commons, ii. 175; Sir F. Windebank denounced by Mr. Grimston, *ib.*; the Lord-Keeper Finch attacked, ii. 176; Sir George Ratcliff impeached, ii. 177; misconduct of the bishops, ii. 179; conference with the King on ecclesiastical affairs, ii. 182; twelve bishops impeached, *ib.*; Root and Branch Bill, ii. 183; bishops absent themselves from, ii. 186; committed to the Tower, ii. 188; excluded from Parliament, *ib.*; arguments for excluding bishops from, ii. 189; Selden's opinion thereon, ii. 193; Star Chamber Court, and other Courts, abolished by, ii. 194; Charles recapitulates his concessions to, ii. 195; objects to the King's visit to Scotland, ii. 197—199; triennial Parliament, ii. 202; Abolition of Episcopal Power Bill postponed, ii. 209; difficulty of raising money, ii. 220; Peers subscribe 5000*l.* to pay soldiers, *ib.*; Commons alarmed at national finances, ii. 221—223; levies Poll tax, ii. 224; encroachment of, on the King's prerogative, ii. 232; Bill for Perpetual Parliament, ii. 233; distrusts the King, ii. 234; Commons remonstrate against the King's second visit to Scotland, ii. 236; sits on a Sunday, ii. 238; objects of the King's visit, *ib.*; anxiety of Parliament increased by Montrose's letter, ii. 246; military preparation of, ii. 252; the King's efforts to establish a Scotch party, revealed to, ii. 281; jealousy of, against Roman Catholics, ii. 282; the King discharges the Parliament guard, ii. 292—306; change in the King's manner towards, ii. 301; Commons petition for a guard, ii. 306; just reply of the King, *ib.*; remonstrance of Commons, ii. 307; its importance, ii. 308; angry debate upon it, ii. 309; Cromwell's reply to Lord Falkland, *ib.*; protestation against "Remonstrance" being printed, ii. 310; remonstrance of Commons presented to Charles, ii. 311; orders 8,000 troops for Ireland, 4000 for Scotland, ii. 315; impresses soldiers for Ireland, ii. 316; the King commits a breach of privilege, ii. 317; jealous of the King's control of military resources, ii. 318; petitions for a guard, ii. 319; progress of moderate party in, ii. 324; the King attempts to seize five members of Commons, ii. 325; Commons refuse to deliver them up, ii. 326; narrow escape of the five members, *ib.*; Charles goes to the House to seize the five members, ii. 327; the King's address to the Speaker of Commons, ii. 328; progress of the opposition, ii. 330; the King's offer of reparation to, ii. 331; triumphant return the five members to Westminster, ii. 336; peremptory order to Mr. Selden to attend the House, ii. 341; impeachment of Attorney-General, ii. 341; the King grants a guard to, *ib.*; Commons first interference with military power, ii. 342; Hull put under Sir John Hotham by, ii. 343; changes commanders of Trained Bands, ii. 345; offers of Scotch Parliament to mediate with Charles, declined by, ii. 350; Commons endeavour to remove bishops from Lords, ii. 351; proposed Bill for placing Militia under command of Commons, *ib.*; the bishops excluded from, ii. 352; Commons endeavour to get control of militia, ii. 353, 354; threaten to act without the King's consent, ii. 355; names the Lord-Lieutenants, *ib.*; Commons present "Declaration of misgovernment of the King," ii. 356; resolutions of, concerning the militia, ii. 360; sets the King at defiance, ii. 361; petition from Yorkshire to, ii. 362; copy of petition, ii. 367; deputation from, meets the King at Canterbury, ii. 387; regret of Charles at the removal of bishops, *ib.* ; endeavours to remove Sir John Pennington from command of the fleet, ii. 388 ; Commons protest against the King going to Ireland, ii. 389 ; demands the removal of great officers of State, ii. 396, 397 ; conveys magazine of Hull to London, ii. 398 ; committee of, meets the King at York, ii. 399; report of committee, ii. 402—404; suspicion of the King in the North, c. w. i. 11 ; appoints Sir J.Hotham governor of Hull, c. w. i. 12 ; the King shut out at Beverly gate by Sir John Hotham, *ib.*; bearers of Yorkshire petition committed to Black-rod, c.w. i. 18 ; appoint committee of safety, c. w. i. 20 ; appoint Lord Fairfax commander of forces in Yorkshire, c. w. i. 21 ; want of supplies, c. w. i. 24 ; movements of Parliamentary forces communicated to Committee of Safety by Lord Fairfax, c. w. i. 125 ; votes 20,000*l.* for payment of forces in Yorkshire, c. w. i. 30 ; promises supplies to Lord Fairfax, c. w. i. 42, 43 ; thanks of, conveyed to Lord Fairfax, c. w. i. 43 ; rewards the activity of Lord Fairfax, c. w. i. 49 ; appoints Lord Fairfax governor of Hull, c. w. i. 51 ; the Lords reject the Self-denying Ordinance, c. w. i. 155 ; Commons appoints Sir Thomas Fairfax generalissimo, c. w. i. 157; ordinance for new modelling army passes Lords, c. w. 159—161; Sir T. Fairfax thanked by, c. w. i. 162 ; Dutch ambassadors advise a national synod, c. w. i. 165; Commons approve of Sir Thomas Fairfax's list of officers, c. w. i. 166, 168, 172; the taking of Shrewsbury communicated to the Speaker, c. w. i. 170; message of congratulation sent by Commons to Lords, c. w. i. 172; policy of Commons, c. w. i. 173; Lords pass Self-denying ordinance Bill, *ib.* ; special exemption of Cromwell in Self-denying ordinance Act, c. w. i. 174; difficulty of, in raising supplies, c. w. i. 223—226; issue writs to supply members disabled by adherence to King's cause, c. w. i. 273; substance of Charles's last communication with, c. w. i. 293; the Scotch give up the King to, c. w. i. 327; orders army to quarter twenty-five miles from London, c. w. i. 333; Parliamentary army petition Commons for pay, c. w. i. 338; feeling of the House thereon, c. w. i. 340—342 ; disbands its army with certain exceptions, c. w. i. 343; consternation of, at seizure of the King by Cornet Joyce, c. w. i. 351 ; army demands dismissal of obnoxious members, c. w. i. 352; rupture between Commons and army, c. w. i. 353; alarmed at approach of army to London, c. w. i. 355; revokes Committee of Safety, *ib.*; coerced by army, c. w. i. 358 ; threatened adjournment of, *ib.*; treaty at Wickham with army commenced, c. w. i. 364—371; arrangement of differences, c. w. i. 375 ; the eleven malignants allowed to depart, c. w. i. 376 ; city apprentices demand their return, *ib.*; apprentices break into Commons, c. w. i. 380, 381; compel Commons to alter Militia Act, c. w. i. 382; flight of the Speakers to Sir T. Fairfax, c. w. i. 384; Fairfax re-establishes Parliament at Westminster, c. w. i. 385; Commons refuse to ratify acts of army during absence of Speakers, c. w. i. 389; remonstrance of army to both Houses, c. w. i. 390; Commons declared sittings null and void during absence of Speakers, c. w. i. 391; informed of the King's escape, c. w. i. 397; re-empower committee of safety, c. w. ii. 3 ; declares it treason to communicate with the King, *ib.*; deputes Sir T. Fairfax to regulate the King's attendants, c. w. ii. 7; stage plays suppressed by, c. w. ii. 12; appoints thanksgiving for Welsh victories, c. w. ii. 27 ; sends commissioners to Colchester to treat with insurgents, c. w. ii. 40; agrees to hold personal treaty with the King, c. w. ii. 74 ; accepts his Majesty's condescensions, c. w. ii. 75; countermands order of Fairfax to suspend Colonel Hammond, c. w. ii. 70; Pride's Purge, *ib.*; alarm of, at proceedings of army, c. w. ii. 77; relieved by Lord Fairfax, *ib.*; accuses the King of treason, *ib.*; Commons form themselves into a grand committee, c. w. ii. 81; appoint commismissioners to try the King, *ib.*; Commons usurp the functions of the state, c. w. ii. 84; death of Cromwell, c. w. ii. 146 ; differences between Parliament and its army after Cromwell's death, c. w. ii. 184—187 ; General Lambert takes possession of Commons, c. w. ii. 184; Council of Ten appointed, *ib.* ; confusion of parties, c. w. ii. 190 ; conduct of the Rump in the city, c. w. ii. 201 ; the Rump baffled by the duplicity of Monk, c. w. ii. 203—205; confusion of parties in, c. w. ii. 212 ; issues writs in the names of "Keepers of the liberties of the People," *ib.* ; dissolves itself, c. w. ii. 213 ; Sir Harbottle Grimston elected Speaker, c. w. ii. 214;

the Lords meet after a sequestration of eleven years, *ib.*; choose Earl of Manchester Speaker, *ib.*; conference of both Houses to fix limits of monarchical power, c. w. ii. 215; intentions of, defeated by General Monk, *ib.*

Parliament, Scotch, Lords of the Articles Act passed, i. 286; grants to the King supplies for six years, i. 287; Kirkmen's apparel Act, *ib.*; Lord Balmerino's petition, i. 289

Parliament, committee of, at Norwich, c. w. i. 223, 225, 227

Paulet, Lord, one of English commissioners at treaty of Ripon, ii. 22; at siege of Wells, c. w. i. 17

Paulett, Sir John, alluded to in a letter of Sir Thomas Fairfax, c. w. i. 251

Peace with France and Spain, 1629, i. 209

Peers, council of, at York, ii. 19; advocate peace, ii. 21; appoint sixteen peers as commissioners, *ib.*; meet the Scotch commissioners at Ripon, ii. 22; yield to their demands, *ib. note*; Strafford denounced at, ii. 23; Strafford's statement to, ii. 25; treaty of Ripon, *ib.*; humiliating terms, ii. 26; proposed adjournment of, *ib.*; equity of the Scotch claims, ii. 27

Pembroke, Earl of, presents declaration of Parliament to Charles I., ii. 356; death, c. w. ii. 118

Pembroke, Lady Anne, to Charles Fairfax, landscapes of Skipton Castle and Burdon Tower, c. w. i. 312

Penn, William, to Lord Fairfax, c. w. ii. 357

Pennington, Admiral, ordered by Buckingham to deliver up his ship to the French, i. 20; his dignified reply, *ib.*; ordered to return to England, *ib.*; the English ships given up, except the Neptune, i. 21.

Pepys', his account of the burning of the Rump, c. w. ii. 206

Percy, Mr., concerned in Goring's plot, ii. 118; wins over Mr. Hyde, *ib.*; absconds, *ib.*; wounded in attempting to escape, ii. 120; takes refuge in Northumberland House, ii. 121; cunning of Pym, *ib.*; narrative of Goring's plot, *ib.*

Perth articles, i. 323

Peters, Hugh, an account of the famous, c. w. i. 278; letters from, to Sir Thomas Fairfax, c. w. i. 279

Petition of right, i. 100; early appeal to, i. 106; order of the King to reprint, i. 108

Phillips, Sir Robert, pricked for sheriff by order of Charles I., i. 34

Philpotts, Colonel, a hostage for the surrender of Exeter, c. w. i. 290

Pickering, Sir John, released from prison by order of Privy Council, i. 88

Pickering, Colonel, death of, c. w. i. 267

Piers, Dr., Bishop of Bath and Wells, censured, ii. 42

Pierrepoint, William, Esq., one of committee of safety, c. w. i. 23

Pinder, Sir Paul, alluded to in letter of Lord Mulgrave, c. w. i. 131

Plague, the, Parliament adjourned to Oxford in consequence of, i. 19; at Reading, c. w. i. 372

Plaine, Captain, at Winceby fight, c. w. i. 63

Plessis, Monsieur de, his "Life" translated by Mr. Brian Fairfax, vol. i. CXXV

Plotters, the origin of, ii. 247; make proposals to Charles I., ii. 248, 249; copies of letters of, in the Napier charter chest, ii. 250

Plumpton, Mr. John, mentioned in Mr. Stockdale's letter, ii. 107

Plymouth, siege of, raised, c. w. i. 275

Pointer, Lieutenant-Colonel, commands a division in Spinola's army, in Low Countries, vol. i. XLI

Points, Major-General, alluded to by Sir Thomas Fairfax in a letter to his father from Autre, c. w. i. 259

Poldram House, attacked by Sir Thomas Fairfax, c. w. i. 264; taken by Colonel Hammond, c. w. i. 281

Poll-Tax, review of, ii. 228, 293, 349, 378

Pone, Duke du, removal of, from Heidelberg, mentioned in a letter of John Fairfax, vol. i. XLIV

Popham, Mr. Alexander, at siege of Wells, c. w. i. 17

Popish Plot—letter from Mr. Coleman to Father La Chaise, c. w. ii. 288; letters from Lords in council to Earl Danby, c. w. ii. 291; Popish officers of government appointed by conspirators, c. w. ii. 292; letters from Lord Danby to Lord Fairfax, c. w. ii. 294, 295; from Mr. Palmer to Lord Fairfax, c. w. ii. 296; from Mr. Babington to Lord Fairfax, c. w. ii. 297; from Mr. Sherrard to Lord Fairfax, c. w. ii. 299

Pontefract election, c. w. i. 318

Porter, Lieutenant-General, movements of, at Totness, c. w. i. 277

Porter, Mr. Endymion, Parliament demands his removal from court, ii. 396; to Sir R. Browne, c. w. ii. 30; gentleman of bedchamber employed in secret correspondence, *ib.*

Povey, Mr., a Parliament commissioner

appointed to treat with army for redress of grievances, c. w. i. 354
Powis, Lord, his observation on Wentworth's elevation to the peerage, i. 128
Poyntz, General, alluded to in reference to Pontefract election, c. w. i. 319
Poyntz, Sydenham, to Sir Thomas Fairfax, differences between army and Parliament, c. w. i. 359; to Speaker of Commons, disaffection of certain regiments, c. w. i. 360
Prance, Miles, implicated in the murder of Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey, c. w. ii. 296
Press, arrival of, at Newmarket, ii. 390
Preston, battle of, c. w. ii. 60—63
Preston, Sir James, his services to the Royal cause alluded to, c. w. ii. 88, 89
Price, Captain, killed at battle of Maidstone, c. w. ii. 33
Pride, Colonel, seizes forty-one members of Commons, c. w. ii. 76; attainted for high treason, c. w. ii. 150
Privy Council restores the Loan recusants to liberty, i. 87
Proclamation against Papacy, i. 36; "Remonstrance" of Commons burnt, i. 55; forbidding proposal of a Parliament, i. 209; new Liturgy for Scotland, i. 326; shot into Colchester, c. w. ii. 44
Procter, Mr., his death alluded to by Charles Fairfax, c. w. i. 315
Procter, Thomas, to Lord Fairfax, letter of excuse, i. 360, 361
Protestation, the, taken, ii. 362, 365, 375, 376, 381; popularity of, ii. 106
Protesters, the, ii. 238, *note*
Prynne, imprisoned, i. 338; release of, ii. 194
Pudsey, Captain, taken prisoner at Sherborne, c. w. i. 254
Punstable, Mr. Duke, taken prisoner at Sherborne, c. w. i. 255
Puritanical books prohibited, i. 336
Pye, Sir Robert, at Leicester, c. w. i. 216
Pym, John, warning of, to Sir Thomas Wentworth, i. 127; embarks as an emigrant, i. 342; suggests the impeachment of Strafford, ii. 45; carries impeachment to Lords, ii. 46, 91; speech of, on Strafford's trial, ii. 90; exclamation of, on the King consenting to Strafford's death, ii. 135; one of five members attempted to be seized by Charles I., ii. 325; receives private information of the King's intention, ii. 326; one of committee of safety, c. w. i. 22; speech of, against Captain Hotham, c. w. i. 48

QUEEN (Henrietta Maria), extract from marriage treaty of, i. 115; ordered by the Pope to do penance, i. 116; marries Charles by proxy, *ib.*; her discretion, i. 117; conduct of her French attendants, *ib.*; the King interferes, i. 118; her French attendants ordered to quit England, i. 119; arrival of M. Bassompierre, i. 120; curtain lecture of, i. 122; vows to educate her children in Romish faith, i. 123; her confessor and Mr. Hackett, i. 124; goes to Tyburn to do penance, i. 125; urges the death of Strafford, ii. 132; her visit to Spa frustrated by Parliament, ii. 254; dismisses Sir J. Astley and Sir J. Conyers from Court, ii. 255; intrigues of, ii. 282; her reproach to Charles II., ii. 332; her departure for Holland, ii. 351, 387, c. w. i. 5; intended impeach- of, ii. 386; her return, c. w. i. 52; joins the King at Edgehill, *ib.*; birth of Princess Henrietta, c. w. i. 118; arrives at Brest, *ib.*; situation of, at Court of France, c. w. ii. 55, 56
Quin, James, to Mr. Evelyn, c. w. ii. 346

RAGLAND Castle, surrender of, c. w. i. 317
Rainsborough, Colonel, march of, to Corfe Castle, c. w. i. 261
Raleigh, Sir Walter, referred to by Lord Cork in his record of his career, i. 135
Ramsden, Sir William, of Byrom, alluded to in the Honourable Brian Fairfax's letter to his nephew, c. w. i. 236
Ransborough, Colonel, bears dispatch of battle of Naseby to Parliament, c. w. i. 236
Ratcliff, Sir George, contribution of, towards Scotch war, i. 370; impeached, ii. 49; letter from the Earl of Strafford, ii. 51; character and habits of Lord Strafford described by, ii. 160; impeached by Commons, ii. 177
Ratcliffe, Captain, revolts to the Royalists, c. w. i. 44
Rausan, Marshal, proceedings of, at Nieuport, c. w. ii. 6
Reade, Samuel, Esq., one of committee of associated counties, c. w. i. 56
Readfell, Lieutenant-General, at battle of St. Fagan's, c. w. ii. 23
Readman, Sir John, governor of Pontefract, c. w. i. 186
Rebels, Irish, sue for peace, ii. 315
Rebellion, history of, i. 272, *note*
Recusants, loan, imprisonment of, i. 70; summoned to London, i. 74; restored to liberty, i. 88; twenty-seven returned to Parliament, *ib.*; increase of, ii. 229;

proposed forfeiture of their estates, ii. 283; Irish, ii. 288—290

Reed, Sir Francis, alluded to in a letter from Lady Osborne to Lord Fairfax, c. w. i. 199

Restoration, popular feeling in favour of, c. w. ii. 197; the cavaliers, the real cause of, c. w. ii. 198

Rhé, Isle of, expedition against, i. 67, 80—84

Rich, Sir Charles, commands division in Spinola's army, in Low Countries, vol. i. XLI

Rich, Colonel, dispatched by Sir Thomas Fairfax to relieve Dover, c. w. ii. 34; surrounds Parliament with his soldiers, c. w. ii. 76

Richardson, Sir Thomas, his conduct as Chief Justice of Common Pleas, on trial of Jesuit professsors, i. 178, *note*

Richelieu, defeats schemes of Buckingham, i. 82; encourages Scotch malcontents, i. 394; saying of, on hearing of Strafford's execution, ii. 160

Riddell, Sir Thomas. Letter from Major John Leslie promising protection to, ii. 15

Rigby, Colonel, member for Wigan, c. w. i. 88; besieges Lathom House, *ib.*; foiled by the Countess of Derby, c. w. i. 89; applies for aid to deputy-lieutenants of Lancashire, c. w. i. 90; raises the siege, c. w. i. 92; taken prisoner by Prince Rupert, *ib.*

Ripon, treaty of, humiliating, ii. 25. *See* PEERS, COUNCIL OF, AT YORK

Rochester, Earl of, his appointment of Lord-lieutenant of Ireland alluded to, c. w. ii. 260

Roe, Sir Thomas, alluded to in reference to Prince Rupert's imprisonment, i. 322, *note*

Roe, Owen, defeat of in Ireland, c. w. ii. 91

Rohan, Duke of, alluded to, i. 78; accuses the Duke of Buckingham of treachery at Rochelle, i. 82

Rolle, Mr., tonnage and poundage levied on, i. 174, 175; subpœnaed before the Star Chamber, *ib.*; Sir Humphrey May and Sir John Coke, *ib. note*

Ross, Colonel, one of Lord Fairfax's council of war, c. w. i. 39

Ross, Bishop of, lord high treasurer in Scotland, ii. 5

Rossiter, Colonel, alluded to in Colonel Hutchinson's letter to Lord Fairfax, c. w. i. 222

Rothes, Lord, opposes the Act for regulating Kirkmen's apparel, i. 287; disputes the votes, i. 288; death of, ii. 245, *note*

Roundhead and Cavalier, origin of the terms, ii. 185, 320

Rouse, Captain, serves as Major at Isle of Rhé, ii. 200

Roxburgh, Earl of, insulted by the Church rioters, i. 331

Royalists, London, welcome Charles on his return from Scotland, ii. 303; colours of, ii. 375, *note*

Rudyard, Sir Benjamin, alluded to in reference to promotion of one Francis Nicholls in Lord Fairfax's service, c. w. i. 160; his expression of Court doctrines, ii. 174

Ruisshe, Sir Francis, alluded to in a letter of Sir Thomas Wentworth, vol. i. LXIV.

Rupert, Prince, generous conduct of, at Denton, vol. i. L.; release of, i. 322, *note*; relief of Newark, c. w. i. 77; surrounds Bolton, c. w. i. 92; relieves Lathom House, *ib.*; at Blydwas, c. w. i. 172; advances on Gloucester, c. w. i. 179; at Worcester, c. w. i. 215; advances on Oxford, junction with Charles, c. w. i. 217; at Naseby, c. w. i. 282; at Bristol, c. w. i. 244, 248, 249; at Pendennis, c. w. i. 257; at Dartmouth, c. w. i. 274; rumoured departure of, c. w. i. 282; ii. 109

Rushworth, John, Mr., to Lord F. Fairfax, Wells besieged, c. w. i. 17; 300 horse enter Somersetshire, *ib.*; bearers of York petition committed to Black Rod, c. w. i. 18; Sir Thomas Fairfax, *ib.*; his connexion with Fairfax family, *ib.*; assistant-clerk to Commons, c. w. i. 19; messenger between Charles I. and Parliament, c. w. i. 22; rides to York in twenty-four hours, *ib.*; singular omission of, c. w. i. 23; sickness in Parliament army, c. w. i. 261; rumoured departure of Prince Rupert, c. w. i. 263; Poldram Castle, *ib.*; progress of war in the West, c. w. i. 265—267; Sir William Selby and Tiverton, c. w. i. 268—271; siege of Plymouth raised, c. w. i. 276; affairs at Dartmouth, c. w. i. 277, 278; military movements, c. w. i. 281; military operations at Exeter, c. w. i. 283; Parliamentary army in Cornwall, c. w. i. 286; Hopton's army disbanded, c. w. i. 287; surrender of Exeter, c. w. i. 289—291; Parliament jealous of Scotch army, c.w. i. 295; disbanding Parliamentary army, c. w. i. 343; Charles I. at Newmarket, c. w. i. 353; differences between army and

Parliament, *ib.*; Parliament army at St. Alban's, c. w. i. 355; intentions of army to King and Parliament, c. w. i. 356; charges of army against Commons, c. w. i. 357; alarm of the City at approach of army, c. w. i. 358; Parliament coerced by army, *ib.*; threatened adjournment, *ib.*; progress of Treaty of Uxbridge, c. w. i. 360, 364, 365, 367—370; riot of apprentices and flight of Speakers, c. w. i. 380; death of, c. w. i. 23

Russell, Admiral, his landing 5000 men at Barcelona alluded to by Titus Oates, c. w. ii. 312

Russia, Emperor of, prohibits all commerce with England, c. w. ii. 103

Rutherford, Samuel, Scotch Liturgy, i. 329

Ruthven, General, visits the King at York, ii. 391

SAINT CHAMONT, Marquis, French Ambassador, return of, i. 253

Saint Fagan's, battle at, c. w. ii. 22

Saint George, Sir Richard, Fairfax's coat of arms, i. 230

Saint George, William, to Lord F. Fairfax, exchange of prisoners, c.w. i. 186

Saint John, Sir Beauchamp, committed by Privy Council for refusing to contribute to loan, i. 68

Saint John, Oliver, Mr., opposes legality of levy of ship-money, i. 223

Salisbury, Lord, fined 20,000*l.* i. 215

Sancy, Père, confessor to Queen Henrietta Maria, i. 117

Sands, Sir Edwin, one of committee appointed to draw declaration to present to Charles I. vol. i. LVII.

Sanderson's life of Charles I. quoted, referring to imprisonment of Sir John Eliot and Sir Dudley Digges, i. 50

Sanquhar, Lord, one of commissioners for raising subsidy granted to Charles I., i. 210

Savile, Sir John, contests Yorkshire against Sir T. Fairfax, i. 5; petitions against Wentworth's return, i. 11; to Lord F. Fairfax, movements of troops at Bradford and Wakefield, c. w. i. 177—181

Savile, Sir Henry, to Sir Thomas Wentworth, fragment of letter, i. 91

Savile, Lord, i. 254, *note*; forgeries of, ii. 8

Sawdry, ——, his doctrines, alluded to by Sir William Morrice, c. w. ii. 143

Say and Sele, Lord, arguments of alluded to, on excluding bishops from Parliament, ii. 188

Scarfe, Major, alluded to by Sir John Savile for marching without orders, c. w. i. 178

Schomberg, Duke of, viceroy of Catalonia, c. w. ii. 19

Scott, Sir Charles, alluded to in a letter to Lord Fairfax, c. w. i. 261

Scott, ——., Esq., taken prisoner at battle of Maidstone, c. w. ii. 33

Scotch, offers of the, to rescue the King, c. w. i. 354

Scotch war, unpopularity of, ii. 3, 5

Scowen, Mr., a Parliament commissioner appointed to treat with army for redress of grievances, c. w. i. 354

Scroope, Lord, alluded to by Lord Fairfax, i. 24, 27, *note*

Scudamore, John, to Mr. Evelyn, restoration of II., c. w. ii. 149

Selby, Sir William, of Twisle, marries Lady Ellen Fairfax, vol. i. LXXV.; his anticipated return for Tiverton, c. w. i. 268, 273

Selden, John, his arguments on impeachment of Buckingham, i. 39, 103; appeals to Speaker of Commons, on privilege, i. 183—185; summoned before Star Chamber Court, i. 189; committed to the Tower, i. 191; examined by Privy Council, i. 192; information against, *ib.*; subpœnaed before Star Chamber Court, i. 193; demurrer of, *ib.*; his opinion on the detention of Speaker, i. 194; removed by Habeas Corpus to King's Bench, i. 196; acquitted by the judges, i. 197; arbitrary conduct of the Court towards, i. 198; solitary confinement of, i. 199; his reply to judgment of King's Bench, i. 201; remanded to the Tower, i. 202; indicted in King's Bench, *ib.*; ordered to find sureties, his refusal, i. 203; his firmness, *ib.*; further information filed against, i. 226; release of, i. 209; votes against Strafford's Bill of attainder, ii. 86; his opinion on excluding the twelve bishops from Parliament, ii. 191; his Table Talk, ii. 192, *note*; observations of, on King Charles's Parliament, ii. 351

Serment, Monsieur, his endeavours to frustrate treaty between Spain and Holland alluded to, c. w. ii. 6

Seymour, Sir Francis, pricked for sheriff by order of Charles I., i. 34

Seymour, Lord, at siege of Wells, c. w. i. 17

Sheffield, Earl of, Lord President of the North, vol. i. XX.; demands satisfaction of Sir Thomas Fairfax, vol. i. XXI.; family alliance with Fairfax's family, vol. i. XXIII.; letters to Sir Thomas

Fairfax, vol. i. XXIV. i. 165, *note* ; Lord Mulgrave's pedigree, *ib.*; letter to Lord Ferdinando Fairfax, on family affairs, c.w. i. 131 ; for protection to his tenants, c. w. i. 191
Sheffield, Lord T., to Sir T. Fairfax on the fame of his son John, vol. i. XLIV.
Sheffield, Hon. William, to Lord Fairfax on various matters, i. 268, *note* ; removal of Chief Justice Heath, and German war, i. 293
Sheffield, Lord Edmund, to Lord Fairfax, on personal matters, c. w. i. 141
Sherborne, siege of, c. w. i. 246, 247 ; importance of action at, c. w. i. 251 ; list of prisoners taken at, c. w. i. 254
Sherrard, Mr. Philip, to Lord Fairfax, "the Popish plot," c. w. ii. 299
Shrewsbury, taking of, c. w. i. 169 ; account of the, c. w. i. 170
Ship-money, first suggested in 1634, i. 219; first writ issued, i. 220 ; petitioned against by Corporation of London, *ib.* ; resisted by John Hampden, i. 222—226; ordered by Charles, ii. 2 ; resisted, *ib.* ; voted illegal, ii. 38, 226—228.
Shovel, Sir Cloudesley, alluded to in a letter from Titus Oates to the Duke of Bolton, c. w. ii. 312
Sibbard, Colonel, one of confederacy of "Plotters," ii. 247
Sibthorpe, Dr., assize sermon at Northampton, i. 67
Sidney, Algernon, Colonel, appointed to a regiment of Horse, c. w. i. 213
Sidserfe, Dr., Scotch canons, i. 325
Skippon, Major-General, commands Parliament-guard, ii. 341 ; a Parliament commissioner appointed to treat with army for redress of grievances, c. w. i. 354
Skipton, Major-General, at Naseby, c. w. i. 231 ; wounded, c. w. i. 233 ; Governor of Newcastle, c. w. i. 331
Skrimshay, Colonel, taken prisoner, c.w. i. 106
Slayton, Captain, taken prisoner at Sherborne, c. w. i. 254
Slingsby, Guildford, secretary to Lord Strafford, ii. 144 ; letters from Lord Strafford to, *ib.*
Slingsby, Sir Henry, Knaresborough election, ii. 262, *note*
Smith, Mr. John, one of Scotch commissioners at treaty of Ripon, ii. 22
Smith, Colonel, one of Lord Fairfax's council of war, c. w. i. 39
Smith, Piercy, an officer of Lord Inchiquin's, c. w. ii. 99
Smithson, Major, alluded to by Lady Graham in her letter, claiming protection of Lord Fairfax, c. w. i. 203
Snelling, Rev. Mr., deprived of his living, i. 333
Snowdon, John, letter to Mr. Charles Fairfax, the wars in the Low Countries, vol. i. XL.
Soap monopoly, i. 218
Sotheby, Walter, to Lord Fairfax, Duchess of Buckingham's claims, c. w. ii. 267
Soubise, Monsieur de, present at the assassination of the Duke of Buckingham, i. 144
Southampton, Earl of, one of committee appointed to draw declaration to present to Charles, vol. i. LVII.
Spain, King of, rumour of his death alluded to, c. w. ii. 262
Spencer, Lord, observations of, on Buckingham's impeachment, i. 46
Spencer, Captain, ordered to join Sir John Savile, c. w. i. 180
Spiller, Sir H., returned for Middlesex, i. 89
Spinola, his army in Low Countries, vol. i. XXXVIII.; spares monument of two Fairfaxes, vol. i. L. ; movements of his army, vol. i. XLIII.
Spottiswood, Archbishop, preaches a sermon at the opening of the Scotch parliament, i. 286 ; Lord Balmerino prosecuted for leasing making, i. 289
Spry, Sir Harry, memorable speech of, i. 81
Stage players, denounced by Parliament, c. w. ii. 12
Stamford, Earl of, appointed Governor of Jersey, c. w. i. 7
Stanhope, Sir Edward, fined in Star Chamber Court, i. 227
Stapleton, Sir Philip, ii. 266, *note* ; member for Boroughbridge, c. w. i. 352 ; denounced by Parliamentary army, c.w. i. 356
Staps, ——., treachery of, alluded to in a letter of Sir Thomas Fairfax, vol. i. XXVIII
Star Chamber Court, Sir T. Fairfax fined in, i. 227 ; tyranny of, exposed, ii. 36 ; abolished, ii. 194
State paper to M. Bassompierre, i. 125
Stewart, Colonel Walter, one of confederacy of "Plotters," ii. 247
Steward, Sir Archibald, one of the confederacy of "Plotters," ii. 247
Stewart, Sir Robert, at Youghall, c. w. i. 261
Stirling, Sir George, one of the confederacy of "Plotters," ii. 247
Stockdale, Thomas, to Lord Ferdinando

Fairfax, pay and billet of soldiers, Lord Strafford's trial, ii. 99—107; the Protestation popular, ii. 106; Mr. Benson, ii. 108; military oppression, ii. 110—112; Captain Wythers murdered, ii. 112; billet-money unpaid, ii. 114, 115, 204; triennial parliaments, ii. 202; military oppression, ii. 203; levy of subsidies, ii. 205; opinion of, on Lord Strafford's trial, ii. 207; three regiments disbanded, ii. 208; fight in Ollerton Park, *ib.*; the twelve bishops, *ib.*; billet of soldiers, ii. 210—212; Hamilton's regiment disbanded, ii. 212; abstract of billet-money of Hamilton's regiment, ii. 215—218; William Derelove, Knaresborough election, ii. 216, 217, 227; rigorous levy of ship-money, ii. 226; review of poll-tax, ii. 228; increase of recusants, ii. 229; proposal to tax recusants to suppress Irish Rebellion, ii. 230; Knaresborough election, disputed return, ii. 260—269; departure of Charles I. from York, ii. 269; proposals for forfeiting Roman Catholic estates, ii. 283; Catholics in Claro, ii. 286; ship-money, expected pardon of Irish recusants, ii. 288; Mr. Benson's house resort of recusants, ii. 290; disaffection between King and Parliament, ii. 291; Charles discharges Parliament Guard, ii. 292; review of poll-tax, ii. 293; public affairs, ii. 294; jealousy between Charles I. and Parliament, ii. 297; Yorkshire billet-money, ii. 298; Lord Strafford's estate, ii. 321; Train-bands in Yorkshire, ii. 344; Yorkshire petition to King and Parliament, ii. 345, 362; Sir Thomas Fairfax in Yorkshire, ii. 348; escape of Mr. Benson, ii. 348, 363, 376; review of poll-tax, ii. 349; Protestation taken in Yorkshire, ii. 362, 376, 381; Yorkshire Train-bands called out, ii. 365; Yorkshire petition misunderstood, ii. 373; riot about superstitious pictures, ii. 375; search for priests and arms, ii. 377; counter-petition proposed, ii. 378; estreat for poll-money returned, *ib.*; commission to raise money for Ireland, ii. 379; differences between King and Parliament, ii. 380; meeting about division of billet-money, ii. 382; arrival of the King's press at Newmarket, ii. 390; reports about Hull, *ib.*; General Ruthven and Colonel King's visit to Charles I., ii. 391; commissaries from Parliament arrive at York, ii. 393; Yorkshire petition to Charles, ii. 395

Stowell, Sir John, his trial alluded to, c. w. ii. 109

Strafford, Earl. *See* Wentworth, Sir Thomas

Strange, Lord, precedency of, argued in the Lords, i. 159

Strangeways, Sir John, released from prison by order of Charles I., i. 88

Stretton, Rev. Mr., extract from his funeral sermon on Sir Thomas Fairfax, vol. i. cxxviii, *note*

Strickland, Mr., knighted by the King at York, ii. 269; his audience with the States of Holland frustrated by the Queen of England, c. w. i. 31

Strode, Mr., committed to the Tower, i. 191; examined, *ib.*; solitary confinement of, i. 199; impeached, ii. 325

Stroude, Ellen, deposition of, concerning marriage of Anne Hyde and Duke of York, c. w. ii. 270

Subsidies, copy of instructions from Council to Sir Thomas Fairfax, i. 210; levy of, i. 403; assessment of, ii. 105, 205—207

Suckling, Sir John, furnishes a troop of 100 horse, i. 376; implicated in Goring's plot, ii. 118

Suckling, Charles, cautious answer of, i. 374

Sunderland, Richard, Esq., one of commissioners for raising supplies granted to Charles I., i. 210

Sunderland, Earl, one of the commissioners for raising subsidy granted to Charles I., i. 210

Superstitious pictures, riot about removal of, ii. 375

Swain, Captain, sequesters cattle of Mr. Wolstenholme, c. w. i. 133

Sweden, King of, i. 313

Tadcaster attacked, ii. 422

Talbot, Thomas, to ——, movements of Royalists in Ireland, c. w. ii. 88; Sir James Preston, *ib.*

Talbot, Captain, taken prisoner at Hunstett, c. w. i. 94

Tankerville, Lord, alluded to as "Privy Seal," c. w. ii. 258

Tempest, Sir Richard, one of commissioners for raising subsidy granted to Charles I., i. 210

Tennison, Dr., to Mr. Evelyn, c. w. ii. 343

Thomas, Richard, letter of, offering his services to the Royal cause, c. w. ii. 138

Thompson, James, one of committee of associated counties, c. w. i. 56

Thorax, Monsieur Le General, alluded to in reference to the Duke of Buckingham's expedition, i. 78

Thornton, Colonel, killed at Pontefract, c. w. i. 184

Thynn, Sir James, one of committee to present "Remonstrance" to the King, ii. 311

Tickell, Thomas, the poet, Lord Oxford's trial, c. w. ii. 309

Tillotson, Bishop, curious story related by, c. w. ii. 221

Tilly, Marshal, alluded to by Sir Thomas Fairfax, i. 32 ; reported death of, i. 240

Tindall, Dr., living of Wheldrake, c. w. i. 122, 125—127

Toll, Thomas, to Mayor of Norwich, subsidy of 400*l.*, c. w. i. 325

Tonnage and poundage, levied on Richard Chambers, i. 172; on Mr. Rolle, i. 174, 175; protestation against, i. 185; doubled, i. 216; levied for relief of army, ii. 220

Topham, William, Esq., M.A., nominated to curacy of Bilborough, Kent, c. w. ii. 246

Torrington, battle of, c. w. i. 285

Townley, Mr. Christopher, his intended arrest, ii. 296

Townsend, Mr., his losses referred to in a letter from Sir Thomas Fairfax, vol. i. XXVIII

Townsend, Sir Roger, rumoured death of, i. 299, *note*

Trained Bands, *see* ARMY.

Trapps, Sir Francis, mentioned in a letter of Mr. Stockdale's, ii. 107 ; alluded to by Sir George Wentworth, Yorkshire election, i. 8

Traquair, Earl of, conduct of, at Lord Balmerino's trial, i. 290; attacked by Church rioters, i. 332

Trenchard, Colonel, one of Lord Fairfax's council of war, c. w. i. 39

Trevor, Lord, censured by Parliament, ii. 42

Trevor, Colonel, commands 600 horse at Perith, i. 372; defeats O'Neale in Ireland, c. w. ii. 92

Turner, Dr. Samuel, impeaches the Duke of Buckingham, i. 39

Turner, Sir James, his opinion of successes of the Scotch quoted, ii. 26

Turner, Sir Edward, curious story of a mad-woman related by, c. w. ii. 287

UPCOT, Mr., Fairfax MSS. discovered in collection of, vol. i. CXXXIX

Usher, Archbishop, his attendance upon Lord Strafford, ii. 150; carries the Earl's dying request to the King, *ib.*; memoranda found in his pocket-book, *ib.*

Uvedale, Sir William, his account of billet-money alluded to, ii. 215

Uxbridge, treaty of, c. w. i. 158, 161, 165

VALENTINE, Benjamin, imprisoned in the King's Bench, i. 191; solitary confinement of, i. 199; indicted in the Court of King's Bench, i. 202; fined, i. 203

Vallet, Duke de, at Strafford's trial, ii. 59

Vane, Sir Harry, entertains Charles I. at Raby Castle, i. 281; indiscretion of, i. 400; notes of, at Strafford's trial, ii. 78; Nalson's copy of notes, ii. 83; restored to treasurership, c. w. i. 6

Vane, Sir Harry, junior, a Parliamentary commissioner to treat with army, c. w. i. 354

Van Tromp, reported invasion of Isle of Wight by, c. w. ii. 5

Vauden, Duke de, at Strafford's trial, ii. 59

Vavasour, Major, taken prisoner at Hunstett, c. w. i. 94

Vavasour, Lady, to Mr. Henry Vavasour, on his adopting the Catholic faith, c. w. ii. 229

Vavasour, William, Mr., to Lord Fairfax, on various matters, i. 241

Vermuden, Colonel, movements of, in Derbyshire, c. w. i. 122 ; in Lincolnshire, c. w. i. 299 ; goes to Holland, c. w. i. 230

Venables, Colonel, alluded to in Sir Charles Coote's letter, c. w. ii. 123

Vere, Lady Mary, to Sir F. Fairfax, illness of Sir T. Fairfax, i. 309—312, 320; death and character of, i. 311

Vere, Lady Anne, *see* FAIRFAX, LADY.

Vere, Lord, letter to Sir F. Fairfax at Denton, vol. i. XXXI.; death of, i. 295, *note.*

Village festivals condemned, i. 333

WADD, Major, at battle of St. Fagan's, c. w. ii. 23

Wales, Prince of, i. 313 ; reports of, c. w. ii. 126—128; proclaimed in Scotland, c. w. ii. 129 ; takes the Covenant, crowned at Scone, *ib.* ; advances on Worcester, c.w. ii. 130—132; motto of, *ib.* ; escapes to France, c. w. ii. 133 ; prospects of his restoration, c. w. ii. 146 ; invited by Parliament to accept the throne, c. w. ii. 217

Wales, South, rebellion in, c. w. ii. 21—25

Walker, Sir Edmund, opinion of, respecting the disposition of the City towards Charles I., i. 339

Walker, Henry, Mr., throws a paper into Charles I.'s coach, on his way to Guildhall, ii. 335, *note*

Walker, Thomas, of Bodminton, discovers a plot, c. w. ii. 122

Waller, Captain, chosen burgess, i. 89

Waller, Sir Hardress, at Poldram House, c. w. i. 262—265 ; movements of, c. w. i. 267 ; at Bow, c. w. i. 273

Waller, plot of, c. w. i. 53; trial of, *ib.*

Waller, William, Sir, flight and pursuit of Charles I. from Oxford, c. w. i. 105; takes Colonel Skrimshay prisoner, c. w. i. 106; quarrels with the Earl of Essex, c. w. i. 107; denounced by army, c. w. i. 356

Wallestein, Marshal, at Prague, i. 256 ; death of, i. 260

Wallingford House, meeting at, c. w. ii. 147

Walsh, Sir Nicholas, fined in the Star Chamber, i. 251

Wandesford, Mr., appointed one of committee of management of Buckingham's impeachment, i. 42, 127, *note*

Wardour, Sir Edward, implicated in Goring's plot, ii. 118

Wariston, Lord, to Adam Hepburn of Humbie, Act of Oblivion, Earl of Traquair's interview with Charles I., ii. 241

Warton, Lord, imprisoned for petitioning the King, ii. 16

Warwick, Sir Philip, his description of Cromwell, i. 181 ; his description of Remonstrance debate, ii. 160, 309, *note*

Warwick, William, committed for coining, ii. 298

Warwick, Earl of, one of Lord Fairfax's council of war, c. w. i. 39 ; appointed one of commissioners to invite Charles II. to England, c. w. ii. 217

Waterhouse, Sir Edward, one of commissioners for raising subsidy granted to Charles I., i. 210

Watson, Sir Lewis, fined 4000*l.*, i. 215

Watson, Captain, to Lieutenant-Colonel Man, differences between Parliament and army, c. w. ii. 185

Webb, Thomas, letter to Sir Ferdinando Fairfax, denying the treachery of Hicks, vol. i. LIV.

Wedderburn, Mr. Alexander, one of Scotch commissioners at treaty of Ripon, ii. 22

Wells, besieged by 30,000 men, c. w. i. 17

Wemyss, Sir Patrick, to the Earl of Ormonde, proceedings of Charles I. in Scotland, ii. 258

Wentworth, Sir John, commands division in Spinola's army, in Low Countries, vol. i. XLI

Wentworth, Sir Thomas, to Sir Thomas Fairfax of Denton, York election, vol. i. LIX.; to Lady Jephson, on his brother's marriage, vol. i. LXI. LXII.; to Mistress Ruisshe on her marriage, vol. i. LXV.; to his sister, vol. i. LXVI.; contests Yorkshire in 1625, i. 5; letter to Sir Thomas Fairfax of Denton thereon, i. 8; returned for Yorkshire. i. 10; unseated by Sir John Savile, i. 11; prepares to contest the county again, *ib.*; pricked for sheriff by Duke of Buckingham, i. 11, 34; letter from Denzil Holles to, distress and poverty of the country, i. 84; a loan recusant, i. 88 ; returned for Yorkshire, i. 91 ; his reply to the King on petition of right, i. 101; seeks a conference with Pym, i. 127; Pym's admonition, *ib.*; elevated to the peerage, *ib.*; appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, i. 128; his enmity with Lord Cork, i. 129; his promotion advanced by the death of Buckingham, i. 137, 151; raising knighthood money, attributed to, i. 212; the innocent cause of his wife's death, i. 236; arrives in Dublin, i. 248 ; character of his government, i. 249—252 ; contributes towards Scotch war, i. 370 ; advises Charles not to attend Scotch parliament, i. 389 ; warns the King against the Scotch, i. 390 ; summoned by Charles to London, i. 396; advises Charles to war against the Covenanters, *ib.*; returns to Ireland, i. 397; advises Lord Conway to engage Scotch army, ii. 11; his violence to the army, ii. 16; disbands a Yorkshire regiment, ii. 21; his indignation at the demands of Scotch commissioners, ii. 23 ; his advice to council of peers, ii. 25 ; commons proceed against him, ii. 43; his wish to absent himself from Parliament overruled by Charles, ii. 44 ; arrives in London, impeached immediately, ii. 45; committed to the Tower, ii. 48; letters to his wife, ii. 50; letter to Sir George Ratcliff, ii. 51; commencement of his trial, ii. 59; arrangements in Westminster Hall, ii 61; council for the impeachment of, ii. 62; public interest in the trial of, ii. 63; his mode of coming to the Hall, ii. 64 ; return of popular favour, ii. 65; list of charges against him, ii. 66; his treatment of Lord Mountnorris, ii. 69; war against Scotland advised by, ii. 73; loans and ship-money recommended by, ii. 74; close of the evidence, ii. 76; illness of, ii. 77; fresh evidence produced against him, ii. 77, 78; bill of attainder preferred against, ii. 80; attainder hurried forward, ii. 82; attainder opposed by Lord Digby, ii. 83; Strafford's reply to the charges, ii. 87; Glyn and Pym's rejoinders, ii. 89; address of the King to the Peers on his behalf, ii. 92; evil consequences thereof, ii. 94; popular clamour against, ii. 95, 96; Commons promote popular feeling against, ii. 97; army in favour of, ii. 99; Goring's plot, attempted rescue of the Earl, ii. 117; Capt. Billingsley's scheme to rescue the Earl defeated, ii. 124; his letter urging the King to pass bill of attainder, ii. 129; letter from the King to, ii. 143; his preparation for death, *ib.*; writes to his secretary Guildford Slingsby, ii. 145; writes to Sir G. Ratcliff, ii. 146; letters of forgiveness to his judges, *ib.*; his last letter to his son, ii. 147; sends Archbishop Usher to the King, ii. 150; his anxiety for his friends, *ib.*; desires an interview with Laud, ii. 151; the morning of his execution, ii. 152; goes to the scaffold on foot, *ib.*; his noble bearing, *ib.*; respectful conduct of the people, ii. 153; asks Laud's blessing, ii. 154; his speech to his brother on the scaffold, *ib.*; his dying declaration, ii. 155; his last request to Sir George Wentworth, ii. 158; his instruction to executioner, ii. 159; death of, *ib.*; character and habits, ii. 160

Wentworth, Sir George, to Sir Thomas Fairfax, of Denton, Yorkshire election, i. 8; contributes towards Scotch war, i. 370; present at the execution of his brother Lord Strafford, ii. 153; his extreme grief, ii. 154; dying request of Lord Strafford to, ii. 158; letter of thanks to Lord Fairfax, c. w. i. 177; offers to sell an estate to Lord Fairfax, c. w. i. 298

Wentworth, Michael, letters informing Sir T. Fairfax of fine of Star Chamber Court, i. 227

Wentworth, Sir William, petitions the King not to allow removal of Hull magazine, ii. 398

Wentworth, Lieutenant-Colonel, taken prisoner at Sherborne, c. w. i. 254

Westmoreland, Earl of, fined 19,000*l.*, i. 215

Weston, Lord Treasurer, denounced by Sir John Eliot, i. 182; created Earl of Portland, i. 254, *note*; censured by Parliament, ii. 42

Westminster rejects Sir Robert Pye and Sir Robert Cotton, the Court candidates, i. 91

Wetherby, skirmish at, ii. 419; c. w. i. 27

Whalley, Colonel, pursues Royalist army into Essex, c. w. ii. 34; letter to Lord Thomas Fairfax, movements of Royalists in Essex, c. w. ii. 35

Wharton, Philip, to Lord Ferdinando Fairfax, remodelling Parliament army, treaty of Uxbridge, c. w. i. 157, 158

Wharton, Lord, one of English commissioners at treaty of Ripon, ii. 22

Wheeler, Captain, assistance of, requested by Colonel Hammond, to guard the King at Carisbrooke, c. w. ii. 9

Wherewood, Lady, alluded to by Lilly, the astrologer, in his account of Charles I.'s attempted escape from Carisbrooke Castle, c. w. ii. 17

Whitby, Mr., appointed one of committee of management of impeachment of Buckingham, i. 42

White, Mr., secretary to "Close Committee," c. w. i. 41

White, Mr., contests Pontefract, c. w. i. 318

White, Thomas, to ——, Royalist movements in Ireland, c. w. ii. 92, 96—99, 100—108; defeat of Owen O'Neale, *ib.*; action near Dublin, c. w. ii. 94, 96; Lord Inchiquin, *ib.*; cypher writing, c. w. ii. 95, 97, 101; Ireton, c. w. ii. 98; Cromwell a mediator in Holland, c. w. ii. 107; Royalist rumours in Scotland, c. w. ii. 118; reported loss to Cromwell, *ib.*; Earl of Pembroke's death, *ib.*

White, William, to Lord Ferdinando Fairfax, Dungarvan Castle taken, Irish rebellion, c. w. i. 341

Whitford, Dr., Scotch canons, i. 325

Whitelocke, Mr. Justice, conference with Charles I., i. 200

Whyte, Colonel, alluded to in Sir Thomas Widdrington's letters to Lord Fairfax, c. w. i. 183

Widdrington, Sir Thomas, lines on the death of his wife, vol. i. LXXX.; fulsome address of, to Charles I., i. 346; to Lord Fairfax, military movements at Berwick, i. 367, 368, *note*; treaty of Uxbridge, ordinance for new army, c. w. i. 159; meets Sir T. Fairfax at Ware, c. w. i. 161; treaty of Uxbridge concluded, c. w. i. 165; Dutch ambassadors, *ib.*; junction of Prince Rupert with Royalists in the North, c. w. i. 182; mutiny at Skipton Castle, c. w. i. 335; disbanding Parliament army, c. w. i. 340—346; apprentice riot, c. w. i. 377

Williams, Lord Keeper, warns the King and Buckingham on dissolving Parliament, i. 19; resigns the seals, i. 23; Laud's hatred to, i. 38; excluded from coronation, *ib.*; confined in Tower, i. 338; letter to Lord Arundel thereon, i. 339; insulted by mob, ii. 319; letter to Sir R. Browne, reports of Prince of Wales, c. w. ii. 128; to Mr. Evelyn, c. w. ii. 344

Willier, Captain, alluded to in Colonel Mitton's statement of capture of Shrewsbury, c. w. i. 171

Willoughby, Lord, one of commissioners from Parliament to meet Charles at York, ii. 392; to Lord Fairfax, exchange of prisoners, c. w. i. 129

Willoughby, Lady Frances, complaint of, to Sir T. Fairfax of plunder by his troops, c. w. i. 61

Willmot, Sir Stafford, commands in Spinola's army, in Low Countries, vol. i. XLI

Wilmot, Commissary, at battle of Newbourn, ii. 12

Wilson, Dr., to Sir Richard Browne, Waller's plot, Colonel John Hampden's death, invitation of the King for Parliament to meet him at Oxford, c.w. i. 53

Willys, R., to Lord Fairfax, application for pass for Lady Coke, c. w. i. 187, 188

Wimbledon, Lord, alluded to by Lord F. Fairfax, i. 26, *note*

Winceby Fight, an exact account of, c. w. i. 62

Windebanke, Sir Francis, denounced by Mr. Grimston, ii. 175; escapes to Calais, ii. 176, *note*

Windebanke, Colonel, surrenders Blechington House, c. w. i. 216; tried and shot, ii. 176, *note*

Windsor, Colonel, one of Lord Fairfax's council of war, c. w. i. 39

Wines, French, prohibition of, alluded to, c. w. ii. 103

Winn, Sir Richard, one of committee to present "Remonstrance" to the King, ii. 311

Winter, Sir John, Parliament demands his removal from Court, ii. 396

Wood, Anthony, see *notes* referring to pedigree of Lady Ursula Fairfax, vol. i. LXXVI

Wood, Lieutenant-Colonel, alluded to in a letter by Cromwell, c. w. i. 58

Wolstenholme, John, to Lord Ferdinando Fairfax, licentious conduct of the soldiers, c. w. i. 133

Worcester, battle of, c. w. ii. 130

Worcester, Marquis of, expends 20,000*l.* in the Royal cause, c. w. i. 315; surrenders Ragland Castle, c. w. i. 317; movements of, on the Continent, c. w. ii. 128

Worcester, Mayor of, voted to be hanged for admitting Charles I., c. w. ii. 132; city fined 14,000*l.*, *ib.*

Worltenholme, Sir Joseph, alluded to in Sir J. Savile's letter to Lord Fairfax, c. w. i. 180

Wortley, Sir Francis, alluded to by Sir George Wentworth, Yorkshire election, i. 7; one of commissioners for raising subsidy granted to Charles I., i. 210; petitions the King not to allow removal of Hull magazine, ii. 398

Wotton, Sir Henry, his opinion of Duke of Buckingham, i. 138

Wray, Sir John, released from prison by order of Privy Council, i. 88

Wray, Sir Christopher, one of committee to present Remonstrance to the King, ii. 311

Wren, Dr., persecutes Norwich weavers, ii. 41; fined, ii. 42; held to bail, ii. 182; one of the eleven bishops impeached by Commons, ii. 183

Wren, Colonel, surprised by Lord Digby, c. w. i. 253

Wright, Dr., alluded to respecting marriage of Sir Thomes Fairfax, i. 299

Wyatt, Sir Dudley, alluded to in a letter to Lord Bellasise, c. w. i. 300

Wylde, Sergeant, impeaches the twelve bishops in the Lords, ii. 182, *note*

Wyncop, Mr. William, alluded to as collector of ship-money, ii. 288

YORK, ARCHBISHOP; see EBORCEN, TOBIAS

York, Duke of, afterwards James II., declaration of his marriage with Anne Hyde, c. w. ii. 273

Yorkshire, electors of, return Sir T. Wentworth and Sir F. Fairfax, i. 91; armed forces in, i. 167; address to Charles I., i. 353; petitions for a Northern University, ii. 274—277; petitions Commons on militia, suppressing insurrections, ii. 367; petition misunderstood, ii. 373; petitions the King to return to Parliament, ii. 395; meeting of freeholders, ii. 400—409

THE END.

LONDON:
BRADBURY AND EVANS, PRINTERS, WHITEFRIARS.

3/

97

0

DA 407 F2B4 v.2

Bell, Robert (ed.)
Memorials of the civil war

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY